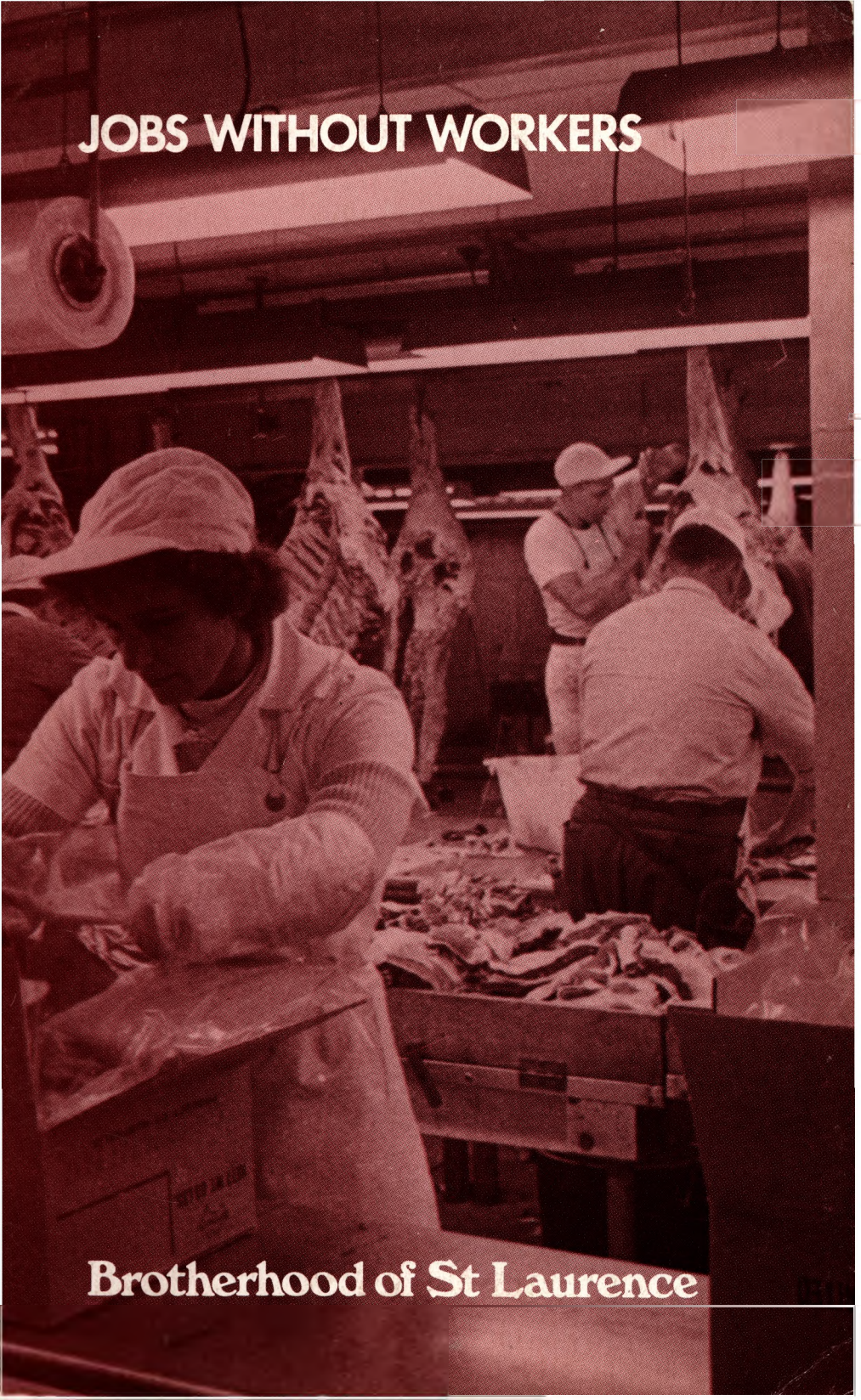


JOBS WITHOUT WORKERS



Brotherhood of St Laurence

JOBS WITHOUT WORKERS

**A Brotherhood of St Laurence
social action study**

**prepared by
David Griffiths
Social Policy Officer**

**Brotherhood of St Laurence
Melbourne, Australia**

BROTHERHOOD OF ST LAURENCE
67 BRUNSWICK STREET FITZROY
VICTORIA 3065 AUSTRALIA

Copyright © 1977 by the Brotherhood of St Laurence

First published December 1977

National Library of Australia Card Number
and ISBN: 0 909571 45 7

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the Brotherhood of St Laurence.

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise disposed of without the publisher's consent, in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published.

Printed in Australia
P.I.T. Press, Bundoora, 3083

CONTENTS

The Paradox	1
The Dynamic Labour Market	3
Buying Labour: Employer Selectivity	9
Selling Labour: Employee Selectivity	13
Unemployment Benefit	19
Good Jobs and Poor Jobs	23
Labour Turnover	29
Shortage of Jobs	35
Unemployment or Unemployed?	41
Jobs Without Workers	45
Summary and Conclusion	53
References	55
Other Reading	67

The Paradox

Despite high unemployment, there are jobs without workers. Despite high unemployment, people are voluntarily leaving jobs. Despite the work test, there are people who decline jobs, and receive unemployment benefit. Employers report difficulties in finding and retaining workers. One employer reports on his experience of talking with other employers:

Typical experiences related were:

- * "Twelve new employees in the past four months. Only three stayed a full week."
- * "Have reduced staff to family only. Fed up with outsiders."
- * "Have had two men in one week referred by Commonwealth Employment Service, but declined to be interviewed as they had no intention of working."
- * "One man after five minutes on the job declared himself allergic to the material being handled and departed."
- * "Pay and conditions demanded by a solitary skilled applicant were outrageous."

I have enough faith in Australia and Australians to refuse to believe that, after allowing for the known 100,000 who are unemployable, there is a further work-force of over 300,000 men and women who have become a "dodge work" force.¹

What is the explanation for the paradox of unfilled vacancies and unemployed individuals? The Norgard Inquiry into the Commonwealth Employment Service has this comment:

The employment situation of the mid-nineteen seventies appears to present a paradox. While companies complain that they cannot hire the skilled, semi-skilled and even unskilled labour they require, there are well over 300,000 people registered as unemployed with the Commonwealth Employment Service, which is over 5 percent of the work force.

What is actually happening in today's labour market? How is it that with so many people looking for work employers can nevertheless ask "where are all the unemployed?"²

These questions provide the starting point for this book.



The Dynamic Labour Market

At the end of June 1977, there were 332,793 unemployed and 19,129 vacancies registered with the Commonwealth Employment Service.

Apart from indicating an obvious disparity between unemployed and vacancies, a relevant issue is the inability of the CES to fill the small stock of vacancies from the large stock of unemployed.

The CES – misunderstood?

The fact is that the CES does fill most of its vacancies. The figures provided in the CES's monthly employment reviews are deceptive because they are static and therefore do not reveal the turnover in statistics. The monthly figures record the number of persons registered for employment and the number of unfilled vacancies at the end of each month, rather than flows through the job market, i.e. changes to unemployed and vacancy registrations during the month. In the CES there is normally a turnover of at least half of the persons registered for employment each month.

To properly understand the CES statistics it is necessary to compare labour demand (vacancies) and supply (unemployed), examine stocks (unfilled vacancies, applicants awaiting placement), and flows (vacancy notifications, registrations, placements, lapses) and average duration.

A CES survey, see page 4-5, of its own unfilled vacancies as registered at the 8/10/1976 revealed that of 24,419 vacancies:

6,796 or 27.8 percent had been notified within the week preceding the survey;

10,850 or 45 percent had been notified within the previous two weeks;

4,900 or 20.1 percent had been unfilled for eight weeks or more.³

**COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE UNFILLED VACANCIES
AS AT 8/10/1976**

CATEGORY	Unfilled vacancies	
	No.	%
SEX		
Male	14,572	59.7
Female	7,559	31.0
Either.	2,288	9.4
TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
AGE		
Adult.	19,354	79.3
Junior	5,065	20.7
TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
PERMANENCY OF VACANCY		
Permanent	23,190	95.0
Temporary.	1,229	5.0
TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
FULL-TIME/PART-TIME VACANCIES		
Full-time	22,466	92.0
Part-time	1,953	8.0
TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
LENGTH OF TIME VACANCIES UNFILLED		
Under 1 week	6,796	27.8
1 — 2 weeks	4,044	16.6
2 — 4 weeks	3,763	15.4
4 — 8 weeks	3,760	15.4
8 weeks and over	4,900	20.1
Continuing vacancies (a)	1,156	4.7
TOTAL.	24,419	100.0

(a) Certain vacancies notified to the CES are in the nature of "continuing vacancies" as the employer is continuously in need of labour, e.g. to replace wastage. No duration statistics of such "continuing vacancies" were available.

CATEGORY**Unfilled vacancies**

REASONS FOR DIFFICULTY IN FILLING	No.	%
Not difficult to fill	6,783	27.8
Shortage of suitably qualified applicants.	9,359	38.3
Employer selectivity	2,839	11.6
Unattractive conditions, hours	2,522	10.3
Remove location	910	3.7
Unattractive wages	638	2.6
Other reasons	1,368	5.6

TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
----------------	--------	-------

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Rural	389	1.6
Professional and semi-professional	1,866	7.6
Clerical and administrative.	6,540	26.8
Skilled building and construction	1,018	4.2
Skilled metal and electrical	3,305	13.5
Other skilled.	969	4.0
Semi-skilled	6,085	24.9
Unskilled manual	1,489	6.1
Service occupations.	2,758	11.3

TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
----------------	--------	-------

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION

Primary production.	485	2.0
Mining and quarrying.	321	1.3
Manufacturing.	9,683	39.7
Building and construction	1,776	7.3
Transport and communication	1,501	6.1
Commerce, finance and property	5,088	20.8
Public administration, health and education.	2,272	9.3
Other services	3,293	13.5

TOTAL.	24,419	100.0
----------------	--------	-------

SOURCE: Department of Employment and Industrial Relations,
Monthly Review of the Employment Situation, June 1977.

Easier to fill a vacancy than place the unemployed

For the 12 months ended February 1977, the following CES statistics provide information on the duration of registered unemployed and registered vacancies:

	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Victoria</i> ⁴
Unfilled vacancies (monthly average)	23,659	8,097
Applicants A.P. (monthly average)	316,695	77,557
Ratio (applicants per vacancy)	13:1	10:1
Vacancy notifications	674,338	196,707
Applicant registrations	1,767,994	463,511
Ratio	2.6:1	2.4:1
Average duration (weeks) of registration		
Vacancy	2	2
Applicant	10	9

(A.P. — Awaiting placement)

These average duration calculations need to be regarded as broad indications of the relative positions with respect to vacancies and applicants. It is quite clear, however, that it is quicker to fill a vacancy than to place an unemployed person.

More jobs

Much of the confusion about the unemployment situation stems from a misunderstanding of the dynamics of the labour market. A major trend in the labour market is an annual growth in the total number of jobs.

*Total Number of Jobs, Australia*⁵

1974	5,772,400	1973	5,600,900
1975	5,731,600	1972	5,462,400
1976	5,840,600	1971	5,452,300
1977	5,885,700	1970	5,314,200

Between 1970 and 1977 the total number of jobs increased by 571,500. While the growth rate in the total number of jobs has decreased the total number of jobs has increased.

Changing jobs and workers

To understand the dynamics of the labour market it is best to see jobs and individuals as transitory rather than permanent. Jobs and individuals constantly change irrespective of the level of unemployment.

Unemployment is the experience of a much wider group than the specific number of unemployed at a given point of time. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics during 1976 806,600 people experienced unemployment, whereas the highest number of unemployed registered at the CES during the year was 343,939 in January 1976. In a period of high unemployment, much of the unemployment is in a sense shared — the experience of unemployment is rotated and shared between individuals and groups.⁶

The reason for the employed becoming unemployed and the unemployed employed and then unemployed is due to structural changes to industries, the creation of new jobs and labour turnover in existing jobs.

It is necessary to look not only at the numbers of unemployed and vacancies but also at frequency and duration — the number of times jobs and people register and the duration of registration.

In answering its own question about the paradox of unfilled vacancies and unemployed individuals, the Norgard Inquiry comments:

First, the Review believes that the concept of an overall labour market is highly misleading. Every State, city, town and suburb has its own labour market and even within these, unemployed people and apparently suitable jobs can exist side by side. The reasons are many. Geographical separation is the most obvious: clearly a worker cannot spend eight hours a day travelling to and from his work and the lack of suitable accommodation or capital prevents him from moving nearer to that job. At a much simpler level, the non-availability of public transport at appropriate hours could prevent an unemployed person taking a job much nearer home.

But apart from geographical labour markets there are skill labour markets, experience labour markets, age labour markets, in which the employer demands certain skills, experience or age of his employees which are not to be found among the many that are unemployed. Typical of today's employment market is the situation where employers have vacancies for skilled, experienced seniors but a large proportion of the unemployed are unskilled, inexperienced and under the age of eighteen.

Secondly, the Review is of the opinion that both employees and employers are being more selective about the jobs they will accept

or the people they will hire. Many people now feel entitled to a job which they like and find rewarding while at the same time high wage costs naturally lead employers to seek better results from their staff. The Review believes that there is evidence of some unrealistic expectations on both sides.

Thirdly, there appears to be considerable misunderstanding in the community about what the CES can do in the labour market. This misunderstanding of what the CES is all about even extends to people employed in other government departments. The Review considers it should be clearly understood that responsibility for the level of unemployment can in no way be laid at the door of the CES, nor can the CES create any significant number of jobs. The number of vacancies available and the sort of people available to fill them are the result of the interplay of a number of influences, including government policies, local investment and consumption decisions, demographic factors and world economic conditions, all of which are quite outside the influence of the CES.⁷

The rest of this book is concerned with understanding the heterogeneous labour market and more specifically employer and employee selectivity, unemployment benefit, "good" and "bad" jobs, labour turnover and the shortage of jobs.

Buying Labour: Employer Selectivity

Employer selectivity is a factor in preventing some of the unemployed from obtaining jobs. Employer selectivity refers to those informal, and therefore discretionary, requirements of employers, primarily age, sex, experience and other personal characteristic requirements.

Employer recruitment policies vary according to the overall employment situation. When there is high unemployment, employers automatically and subconsciously increase their recruitment standards.

This is not uniformly recognised by employers. At a conference organised for employers by the Job Centre*, some employers denied that recruitment standards increased when unemployment was high. At a conference organised for employers and others by the Interchurch Trade and Industry Mission**, however, employers agreed that the effect of high unemployment was to raise recruitment standards.

The conscious/unconscious limitation

The experience of the Job Centre is that there are few jobs which are open to any unemployed person. For most jobs employers impose restrictions regarding the age, sex and experience of applicants. Even the unskilled are restricted in their suitability for unskilled jobs. In registering vacancies, the Job Centre has been provided with these requirements by employers:

Live-in position, Pakenham, taking care of 84 year-old woman, female preferred.

Welder, Richmond, Sheet metal worker experienced in light gauge stainless steel.

Labourer, Sunshine, male 18-45 years, no skill, but must have background in foundry.

Storeman, Melbourne, looking after stationery department, must have licence.

Process workers, Collingwood, two junior males, experience in boot/shoe trade required.

* The Job Centre is a demonstration project established by the Brotherhood of St Laurence. It was officially opened on 28 February 1977 by the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations. In brief, the Centre helps the unemployed to help themselves through information about the rights of the unemployed, job placement, workshops and discussion groups.

** The Interchurch Trade and Industry Mission was formed in 1960. In brief, it serves the needs of men and women, individually and in the community, within the work places of Australia through industrial chaplains who work full-time or part-time in industry.

Labourers, Essendon, two girls 16-18 years, clothing factory, must be eligible for NEAT.

Trainee personnel clerks (2), Melbourne, male or female, completed form 5, must be eligible for NEAT.

Junior process worker, Box Hill, male 17-18 years, electronics assembly.

Two positions for storemen, Moorabbin, school leavers to 45, greeting cards and games.

Three sixteen year-old males, West Heidelberg, assembling aluminium ladders.

Two hospital porters, Kew, male, age open, nursing home.

Junior typist for a solicitor, Moonee Ponds, up to 17.

Labourer-machine operator, Doveton, insulation manufacturing factory, mid 20's-early 30's, no experience necessary, after training period will be promoted to leading hand.

Experienced receptionist, City Solicitor, 18-23, must be able to type.

Junior Sales girl, Camberwell, 16-16½, fabric shop.

Driver, delivering, Dandenong, male, not over 40.

Full-time gardener, Springvale, adult male, no experience necessary.

Factory work, Nunawading, school leaver to early 20's, want a male, could lead to a career as a sales representative.

Vacancy for press operators, machine tenders, seam and spot weld operators and bender brake operators, also looking for trainee operators, Port Melbourne, male positions.

Two cleaning positions, food section of large Bourke Street store, prefer males, age open.

Storeman driver, St Kilda area, must have endorsed licence.

Salesman, North Melbourne, experienced in stock food, fencing materials, tools and hardware, require car licence, would take female.

Secretary to Assistant General Manager, Carlton, typing and shorthand required.

Labourer, man around 40 wanted for labouring — open work, 7.30 a.m.-4.00 p.m. wants someone who will stay, should have own transport, no public transport.

Piece work, female to work at home involving sewing, needs to have own machine.

Factory hand, male factory hand to work with steel, age: under 21 years is preferred.

Labourer, not over 45, man to work in timber yard with heavy timber.

Clerk/Telephoniste/Typist, female to do general office work, must have had previous office experience, mature flexible person required.

Junior machinist, 17-18 years, some experience with overlocking and/or finishing, ladies clothing factory.

Staff from the Job Centre have found that most of the unemployed are very keen, even desperate, to find work. The staff decided to interview eight employers who registered vacancies with the Centre and reported difficulties filling these vacancies — five reported having difficulties finding *any* applicants, five finding *suitable* applicants and seven in keeping employees.

Employer prejudice

A social work student from the University of Melbourne, Alison Dick, worked with the Co-ordinator of the Centre, in interviewing employers. In hard-to-fill vacancies, they report the results of those interviews:

Five of the employers we interviewed had kept their specifications broad in the advertisements for the vacancies that they had had difficulty in filling, including one employer who explained that this was only because there could be trouble from the unions if he showed discrimination. Another of these five employers had not specified an age in the newspaper advertisements but had asked for someone over 40 when he registered the vacancy with the Job Centre. However, the person he did employ was in his early 20's. A couple of the jobs required the person to be physically fit. Two employers wanted school leavers for apprenticeships and training programs, so their specifications were very narrow.

The remaining employer, who was advertising for a maintenance worker, gave the following requirement to the Job Centre: "experience in several specified fields and aged 30 to 50 years; preferably a married man who lives locally".

Even where the specifications in the advertisements were broad, the employers had preferences. All the employers we spoke with expressed a general preference for stable, mature, married workers — sometimes with children. Experience in appropriate areas was an advantage even if not essential. A preference was also expressed for potential employees to be neat and presentable, including "no long hair". The employer who was wary of discrimination because of the unions was particularly blunt about his preferences — he preferred workers to be over 30 years old, women (because they work harder and are more stable), married with children, and not too highly educated because they would find the work too monotonous.⁸

Employer selectivity is about the employers prerogatives to hire and fire, make decisions about working conditions, conditions of employment, production changes and investment decisions.

These traditional employer prerogatives are being increasingly challenged and disputed by trade unions, government and employees. In 1977 the Swedish Parliament, for example, passed a Democracy At Work Act, which substantially increases employee involvement in the decision-making processes of firms; the basic aim of the legislation is to eliminate management prerogatives.⁹

Selling Labour: Employee Selectivity

It would be foolish to deny that there are unemployed people who are selective, and who choose to look for certain jobs rather than any jobs. When interviewed, Margaret and Bill were unemployed school leavers. Margaret would like a sales-clerical job and Bill would like an apprenticeship in printing. Both were receiving unemployment benefit and both could be employed in factory jobs yet they refused to consider them. These were the kind of reasons they offered:

- Bill: At the moment I'd like to get a job my leaving certificate does help me with. I don't want to get just any job. If I get a job now just for the sake of getting a job I probably wouldn't like it. I'd probably take a job other people would want more than I would.
- Margaret: You can't take a job just for getting off the dole. You have to be happy with what you're doing. So, I'm just hoping a job will come along that I'd prefer.¹⁰

Subsequently, Margaret and Bill did obtain jobs — jobs they preferred and jobs they would probably stay in.

George, married with one child, is 22 and has been unemployed for seven months. He has been working since he left school at 14½, and in that time he has been unemployed approximately two and a quarter years. He has worked as a spray painter, as a driver, as a sheet metal worker, as a fitter and turner and in electronics. George has had about 25 jobs in seven and a half years. He has been working as a voluntary worker with a welfare agency, and he does not want to take any job.

I wouldn't take any job. Why take a job and stick it out for two, three weeks. Someone pushing it on to you or you're being forced. If you don't like a job, no good taking it. If you're going to take a job you should do it off your own bat.

George's response to the suggestion that he could be regarded as an unstable worker:

It's not so much I don't stick at jobs. Ninety per cent I've been sacked because of lack of work, a couple dismissed and others I didn't like and went for other jobs.

As to the future, he wants to work in welfare:

I've done just about every type of work there is and I'm not really keen on them.

Because:

Simple reason. I enjoy helping others.¹¹

As the Australia-wide employer organisation, the Central Industrial Secretariat, argues:

A better educated, younger, more affluent and more questioning community is in the process of rejecting the values of industrial society, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the attitude to work itself.¹²

The selectivity question is quite critical and has been brought into sharp focus by many critics, for instance Jeff Kennett, a Liberal MLA, in Victoria, who argues that 5-8 percent of the unemployed are "bludgers", 17 percent are "genuine unemployed" and that "the majority" 75 percent are "selective unemployed". According to Kennett, the selectively unemployed will not accept any jobs but will hold out for better jobs and the right jobs.¹³

At present the system is treating the unemployed as the privileged class.

Government is making being on the dole too easy. Government makes every effort to assist the unemployed to become productive, but should provide inbuilt disincentives within the unemployment scheme. If it continues to be so easy for the unemployed then we will always have in our ranks a percentage of persons who choose not to be employed while at the same time accept unemployment benefit.¹⁴

It is tempting to deny that the unemployed are selective.

Understanding selectivity among unemployed

Instead of assuming the need to defend selectivity by denying its existence, it is more important to understand its influence and role. Why are the unemployed selective and is being selective unique to the status of being unemployed? The accusation of selectivity is in itself selective. It is selective because it accuses a specific individual or group of being selective when in fact all individuals and all groups are selective.

What are those specific considerations that encourage and enable the unemployed to be selective in their choice of jobs?

- * All jobs are not registered with the CES. As a consequence the unemployed can turn down job offers when the job is not registered with the CES without fear of losing benefit.
- * The CES does not always work test an applicant who does not go to some jobs. Certain jobs are on a virtual CES blacklist. The unemployed will be told about these jobs but not referred by the CES.
- * There is a shortage of jobs. If there weren't such a shortage it would be relatively simple to work test the unemployed by offering them existing jobs and on their refusal to accept referrals or jobs they could be taken off benefit.
- * The Government has said, in effect, that we need the unemployed — that unemployment is necessary in the short-term until inflation is brought under control.
- * The experience of the unemployed is that employers are selective. So their attitude becomes: "what is good for the goose is also good for the gander".
- * Researchers and academics have labelled unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as "dirty jobs" and unskilled and semi-skilled workers as dirty workers.
- * The unemployed are probably being no more selective than they were when there was a tight labour market, the difference is that there are less jobs to be selective about.
- * An education system that emphasises and encourages individual initiative and autonomy will invariably produce school leavers who expect initiative and autonomy in their jobs.
- * The system of unemployment benefits does enable the unemployed to be selective about jobs, although the income provided is austere.

Despite this, Commonwealth Employment Service, and Department of Social Security officials, see page 16, in fact, describe very few of the unemployed as having a poor motivation:

*Department of Employment and Industrial Relations*¹⁵

Number within sample where, in your opinion, the one major reason why the person has not been placed in employment is:

Lack of suitable job opportunity	1416	55.9%
Physical/Mental handicap	231	9.1%
Language difficulty	70	2.8%
Remote location/residential difficulty	128	5.1%
Poor motivation	368	14.5%
Insufficient qualification	118	4.7%
Other	201	7.9%

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY¹⁶

Unemployment beneficiaries classified by length of time on benefit and reason for not being placed in employment

Main reason for beneficiary not being placed in employment	LENGTH OF TIME ON BENEFIT						ALL BENEFICIARIES	
	0-12 weeks		13-25 weeks		26 or more weeks			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total No.	%
Lack of suitable job opportunity	741	33.9	236	10.8	217	9.9	1194	54.6
Physical/Mental Handicap	99	4.5	54	2.5	147	6.7	300	13.7
Language Difficulty	23	1.0	12	0.5	23	1.1	58	2.6
Remote Location/ Residential Diffi- culty	46	2.0	34	1.6	41	1.9	121	5.5
Poor Motivation	111	5.1	83	3.8	180	8.2	374	17.1
Insufficient Qualifications	44	2.0	24	1.1	34	1.6	102	4.7
Other*	11	0.5	6	0.3	6	0.3	23	1.1
Period on UB not Specified							16	0.7
Total	1075	49.0	449	20.6	648	29.7	2188	100.0

* In processing the survey results, some beneficiaries due to "other" reasons were reclassified according to the actual reason given.

People's expectations are changing and these now include the right to be selective about work and employers.

Selectivity crucial to the free enterprise system

More generally, selectivity is not a peculiar characteristic of the unemployed. All people are selective. It would not be possible to propose a situation in which people do not exercise selectivity. Selectivity is the act of choosing or not choosing. Each day in our lives people select what newspapers they read, how they talk with or to people, what clothes they will wear, how they travel to work and how hard they work at work. Of course, there are limits to selectivity and selectivity operates within pre-determining cultural, political, economic and psychological contexts. Furthermore, everyone attempts to enhance and develop their selectivity at home, at work and at play. A manager can play favourites with his staff, a foreperson can openly display dislike for Turkish workers, a secretary can deflect and determine unwanted inquiries and a town planner can decide what information people require.

In theory, freedom of labour is the legal right of employees to be selective to choose their work and their employer. Of course, the freedom of labour is relative and is subject to conditioning variables such as the overall and specific prevailing unemployment rates, the skills and qualifications of the labourer, and the overall and specific status and influence of unions. While employees have had a right to be selective, employers have also had this right.

If employers are selective in deciding who they will employ, then, the unemployed have a right to be selective in who will employ them. As the majority of people selectively change jobs without experiencing unemployment, why should the minority be castigated and punished for their unemployment. As the majority of the selectively unemployed obtain jobs within a relatively short time, why should the long term selectively unemployed be singled out.

The real issue is the context of selectivity. The real argument is that with a changed context from a tight labour market to a high unemployment situation, the relativities and choices change and hence expectations should accommodate to these changes.

In one sense this argument is right. Throughout their lives people are forced to compromise and make adjustments and the critics are asking the unemployed to do this. The unemployed are expected to be less selective about jobs when unemployment is high. But, then, this injunction ignores the historical and philosophical fight of the individual to be free of the dictates and expectations of organisations, institutions and others. It is the continuous fight and unresolved tension between the individual and society characterised somewhat romantically, but nonetheless accurately, for many in Richard Bach's *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*.

Supply and demand in the labour market

The selectivity of the unemployed needs to be related to the condition of and relationships within the labour market.

There is a relationship between criticism of the unemployed for their selectivity and a shortage of jobs. The more jobs, the less criticism. The less jobs, the more criticism.

There is an obvious explanation for this and that is the greater the unemployment the greater the vulnerability of the unemployed. And, of course, the tighter the labour market the greater the vulnerability of employers.

It is the buyer's market versus the seller's market. In a seller's market, the employed and unemployed can accept, reject and leave jobs with the knowledge that they don't have to stay and that there are other jobs. In a buyer's market, however, there is a shortage of jobs and employers are dictating the terms losing a job could mean long-term unemployment.

There are some who would argue it is not a buyer's market: because there are unfilled vacancies which employers just cannot fill, and because unemployment benefits have altered the bargaining position of the unemployed.

The accusation that the unemployed are selective almost suggests that unemployment would be solved if the unemployed were not selective. This suggestion remains even if it is admitted there is an unemployment problem and a shortage of jobs. Most of the unemployed can afford to be selective because there is a shortage of jobs; because the unemployed do have limited rights to reject some of the jobs that are available; and because not all jobs are registered with the CES and, therefore the unemployed are not work tested on these jobs. The concern is not that the unemployed are depriving themselves of jobs through selectivity but rather, as discussed in the previous section, the broader question of the effects of selectivity on management prerogatives.

What would be the effect of the unemployed ceasing to be selective? What would happen if all of the unemployed were forced to take all available jobs?

While thousands of people would become employed, there would still be a shortage of jobs and the majority of the unemployed would still be unemployed. Eliminate selectivity and the majority of the unemployed remain unemployed. For the few jobs that do exist, however, you do provide employers with workers and the community with goods and services at lower cost if there is less turnover and shorter delays in filling jobs. But, then, what are the costs to individuals and society?

Discussing the selectivity of the unemployed is necessary, but is an evasion of the basic issue — the shortage of jobs. Before discussing this, however, it is necessary to examine the effect of unemployment benefit on the unemployed. Unemployment benefit does provide an alternative source of income for people other than working for an employer.

Unemployment Benefit

Unemployment benefit does discourage the unemployed from seeking work quite simply because it reduces the consequences of being unemployed.

The automatic reflex response, then, is to argue for a reduction in the benefit level, or to argue that the unemployed should be forced to work for their benefit.

But, then, the benefit rate is below the austere poverty line established by the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty and to reduce the prevailing rates would push the benefit rate even further below the poverty line.

It is the issue of welfare versus workfare — meeting the needs of the unemployed and encouraging the unemployed to look for work.

The Myers Inquiry into unemployment benefit concludes that unemployment benefit in itself does not discourage the unemployed from wanting to work and that the level and duration of benefit does not have a significant influence.¹⁷ The value of this statement essentially lies in its being made by an inquiry which had access to research studies on the effect of unemployment benefit on the work incentive of the unemployed, and the extensive resources and experience of the Department of Social Security and the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations. Quite obviously, however, unemployment benefit does have a disincentive effect and the primary disincentive is the availability of an unemployment benefit. If there were no unemployment benefit, then, the selectivity of the unemployed would be considerably lessened.

While the availability of jobs is undoubtedly the most important factor influencing the extent of unemployment, workers can have some effect on the extent of their own unemployment. The extent of a worker's unemployment will depend upon how intensively he searches for a job and what his conception is of an acceptable job, as well as upon the availability of a job. In turn, how hard a worker searches for a job and how rigid his definition is of an acceptable job will depend upon the cost to him of being unemployed, his income and assets, the income and assets of other family members, his tastes for one particular kind of work as against another kind of work, and finally on his taste for work in general.¹⁸

But, then, the disincentive may be desirable. Unemployed workers, for example, who are more selective in choosing new jobs than they would be in the absence of unemployment benefit may get better paying, more stable and satisfying jobs. Likewise benefit may encourage people to stay in the workforce and continue looking for jobs. It may even encourage discouraged workers to return to the labour force and look for jobs.¹⁹

After evaluating and comparing cross section studies, social experiments and studies of related transfer programs,²⁰ Munts and Garfinkel conclude there are some work disincentive effects, that there may be some economic benefits as a result and that there are also some work incentive effects.²¹

Garfinkel and Plotnick argue that there are work disincentives, that there are also work incentives, that the appropriate approach is to compare the costs to the benefits and that the real question is are benefits 'too high'?²²

Missing out on the dole

At the same time, there is evidence to indicate that many of the unemployed delay applying for benefit, while others never apply. Of a sample of 160 unemployed, Brewer found that over a quarter did not register for benefit upon becoming jobless — usually four weeks or more elapsed before they registered. Of those who reported previous unemployment, 66% said they had not always claimed benefits.²³

An inquiry into rural poverty found that only 4% of respondents registered for unemployment benefit on becoming jobless and 78.5% never registered.²⁴

That many of the unemployed are either not eligible or choose not to apply for benefits is confirmed by the inquiry into unemployment benefit policy and administration. The inquiry undertook a sample survey of 2,532 unemployed persons registered with the CES at the week ended 24 June 1977.²⁵ Of the 2,532 persons sampled, 2,188 or 86.4% were in receipt of unemployment benefit.²⁶ The experience of the Brotherhood's Job Centre clearly demonstrates there is a difference between unemployed and unemployment beneficiaries:

RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT?²⁷

(Jan/Feb)										
n	Yes	Not applied (choice)	Not applied (ineligible)	Withdrawn (current)	Just applied	Suspension	N/A	Other	Not known	T
n	107	92	47	13	41	3	11	15	18	347
%	30.8	26.5	13.5	3.7	11.8	0.9	3.2	4.3	5.2	99.9
(March)										
n	47	44	10	5	15	2	17	24	8	172
%	27.3	25.6	5.8	2.9	8.7	1.2	9.9	14.0	4.7	100.1
(Jan/March)										
n	154	136	57	18	56	5	28	39	26	519
%	29.7	26.2	11.0	3.5	10.8	1.0	5.4	7.5	5.0	100.1

The Working Women's Centre argues that many unemployed women are not registering as unemployed.²⁸

The ACTU's research study for the poverty inquiry, concludes that young workers are reluctant to apply for benefit or are ignorant of its availability:

*Assistance Received During Period of Unemployment*²⁹

<i>Type of Assistance Received</i>	<i>% of those Unemployed for more than one month</i>
Received assistance from family only	47
Received Commonwealth unemployment benefit only	25
Received assistance from no one	15
Received Commonwealth unemployment benefits and assistance from family	9
Received assistance from friends only	4

Lansbury and Guy supervised the interviewing of 320 people in Clayton, Notting Hill and Mount Waverley.³⁰ Of the sample, approximately one tenth of the total respondents claimed to have been unemployed at some time during the past two years.³¹ Almost half of these had not sought or received benefits.³²

A paper prepared for the inquiry into education and training by the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations concludes:

- * The upward shift in youth unemployment rates commenced prior to the large increases in unemployment benefit in 1973.
- * Efforts made by unemployed young to find work do not differ significantly from those of the adult unemployed and, in some respects, the young are more active in looking for work than unemployed adults.
- * A significant proportion of unemployed young people have not registered with the CES and are, therefore, not claiming unemployment benefits.³³

Despite the lack of substantial evidence to validate suspicions about the unemployed, there is fear that really the unemployed do not want to

work. The take-up rate in applying for benefits can vary and there are probably three important considerations here. Firstly, the general economic situation and the consequence this has on the ability of relatives and friends to provide financial and moral support. Secondly, the experience of the individual unemployed person in applying for benefit. Finally, the public image as determined by the media, politicians and the community of the unemployed.

Negative sanctions or positive rewards

Instead of negative sanctions for the unemployed, would it be desirable to introduce positive rewards?

At present, the unemployed are permitted to earn either \$3 or \$6 a week in addition to their unemployment benefit. Generally, 16 to 18 year olds are permitted to earn \$3 and those aged 18 years plus are permitted to earn \$6. This applies irrespective of family size. Income in addition to either \$3 or \$6 is deducted \$1 for \$1 from unemployment benefit. The result is to discourage the unemployed from seeking part-time and casual work and encourage them not to report earnings from such work. If the single unemployed person was permitted to earn say \$20 there would be an incentive to work. Recognising this, the inquiry into unemployment benefit has recommended "a financial incentive to assist beneficiaries to undertake part-time work while still registered by the CES for full-time employment" through increasing permissible earnings from \$6 to \$20.³⁴ Permissible earnings should also increase with family size otherwise the incentive is reduced in proportion to the family size. Thus the inquiry reasoned for its recommendation that a continuity allowance be payable only to those who had a good work record was to provide "a built-in financial incentive to persons who have worked and actively seek to return to employment and, to those out of work, to build up a good employment record".³⁵

Rewarding the virtuous is a central theme of the inquiry into unemployment benefit.

Good Jobs and Poor Jobs

Another factor to be considered in discouraging people from wanting to work is the general questioning of our political, economic and cultural system and the specific questioning of what are called poor jobs.

The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, the Jackson Report, and the Emery-Phillips Report for the Department of Labour and Immigration all describe, discuss and condemn poor jobs. Poor jobs tend to be identified as unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Poor jobs and poor people is how the poverty inquiry describes unskilled and semi-skilled jobs — farm and rural workers, labourers, personal, domestic and other service workers, shop assistants, factory operatives and process workers.³⁶ In describing the characteristics of these jobs the poverty inquiry states:

- (a) The content of these jobs is for the most part repetitive, boring and sometimes physically very taxing.
- (b) Discipline by supervisors is seen to be exercised in an oppressive and capricious way.
- (c) The jobs have no element of future prospects in them, e.g. promotion and training.
- (d) Poor jobs hold workers for shorter periods than better quality jobs.
- (e) Low-skill jobs often demand longer than average periods of work.
- (f) The fear of unemployment is common among low-skilled workers.³⁷

Improving poor jobs

When it comes to recommendations, however, the poverty inquiry is somewhat reluctant and suggests the need for increased access to planned on-the-job training combined with access to jobs which can use the higher levels of skill and experience gained.³⁸

The presumed consequence of this is that, "Workers who improve their performance in this way should also be able to benefit from the chance to progress through an ordered sequence in their jobs."³⁹

The inquiry also recommends the need to "investigate ways of reconstructing the work tasks in low status jobs with the aim of creating alternative forms of on-the-job and off-the-job training which seek to improve the relationship between workers and management, the level of participation in decision making and related knowledge and skills".⁴⁰

In its conclusion, the inquiry comments that there are penalties associated with low-skill jobs and that "the solutions lie in the complex and difficult area of job creation and job restructuring essential to increase satisfaction and provide opportunities in low-skill jobs".⁴¹

Giving up on work and giving up on life

In a research study for the poverty inquiry, Behrens studied the school career and work history of some 1500 men and women. Their life histories were retrospectively examined from 1959, when they were in Grade 3 and mostly 8 years old, until 1974 when most were 23 and had spent some years at work.⁴²

Of the sample, Behrens concludes that 88 or 12.7 percent of those at present in the labour force are working in the secondary labour market in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.⁴³

While there are small differences in the levels of job satisfaction, those in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs report the least job satisfaction.

<i>Present occupational status</i>	<i>Interesting</i>	<i>Boring or some⁴⁴ boredom</i>
Professionals; managers	87%	13%
Clerical; armed services	74%	26%
Skilled manual	78%	22%
Semi-skilled	74%	26%
Unskilled	69%	31%

Behrens suggests that "to admit to a desire to change would mean that the individual would have to admit to himself that he should be doing something about changing".

In 1973, Emery and Phillips supervised the interviewing of 2000 members of the Australian urban work force about what they did at work, under what conditions, why and how they felt about it.⁴⁵

In their report, Emery and Phillips describe the phenomena of the disadvantaged worker. They include within this group women migrants, the poorly educated, the unskilled and the aged, "Workers for whom such disadvantages has come to be an apparently unchangeable fact of life."⁴⁶

They comment that it is not just a matter of work experiences.

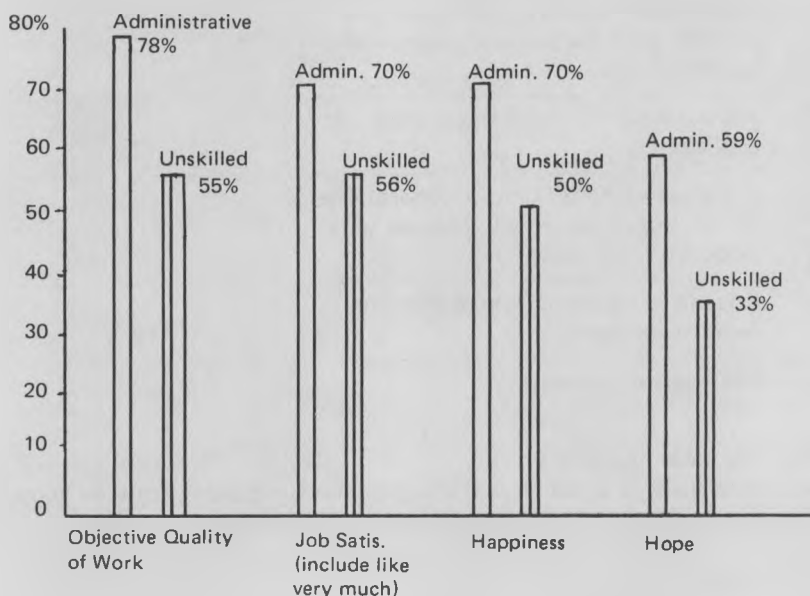
At the extreme it involved a way of life, self-respect and even willingness to have a go at improving their lot. A sense of just drifting with the tides of chance or of gradually going under.⁴⁷

They define the disadvantaged worker as those who have low pay, low security, dirty arduous work.⁴⁸

They estimate that about 10 percent of both men and women in the sample of 2000 in the urban work force have given up on both work and life, and that 18-20 percent have given up on life.⁴⁹

Subsequently, in their report, Emery and Phillips discuss the quality of work and the quality of life. They conclude that people with high quality jobs have high job satisfaction, are happy with their life generally and will have a strong sense of hope about the future. People with poor quality jobs, however, have lower job satisfaction, are not happy with their life generally and have little expectations of things getting any better in the future.⁵⁰

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE QUALITY OF WORK AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE⁵¹



In another research study for the Poverty Inquiry, the ACTU surveyed 150 juvenile workers (aged between 15 and 21) in the Melbourne area. Half were juveniles living with their parents and half were those living away from home.⁵²

The ACTU comments that "job satisfaction ratings are well below the average" for semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.

Job Satisfaction of Apprentices and Semi-skilled and Unskilled boys⁵⁷

<i>What type of work would you prefer to be doing?</i>	<i>Same as now %</i>	<i>Other %</i>
Apprentices	72	28
Semi-skilled and unskilled boys	17	83

Thirty-nine-percent of the respondents felt that they encountered one or more problems in their present job.

Grievance against employers in present job⁵⁴

<i>Grievance</i>	<i>% of total weighted sample</i>
Management refuses to fulfil what you consider to be the terms of your award or apprenticeship	7
Job not what was represented when you applied	17
Not given sufficient time or opportunities for training or studying to improve your work skill	7
Personal antagonism from one or more members of staff	18
Other major problems	2

Poor jobs mean poor pay

Income received is a major characteristic in distinguishing between good jobs and bad jobs. The following tables illustrate the relativities and disparities in weekly gross income received in main job and occupations as of August 1976:

**FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES: WEEKLY EARNINGS IN MAIN JOB AND
OCCUPATIONS, AUGUST 1976⁵⁵**

Group	MALES			FEMALES		
	Number	Median earnings \$	Mean earnings \$	Number	Median earnings \$	Mean earnings \$
Professional and technical	348,000	222	237	224,200	171	172
Administrative, executive and managerial	230,200	222	242	16,900	169	185
Clerical	319,600	163	169	487,000	132	129
Sales	170,900	153	161	108,300	109	106
Farmers, fishermen, timber-getters, etc.	108,600	123	128	5,500	100	100
Transport and communication	220,500	155	171	29,800	124	125
Tradesmen, production process workers and labourers	1,415,000	149	155	189,300	113	113
Service, sport and recreation	150,600	149	161	146,400	116	116

The earnings of professional, technical, administrative, executive and managerial employees are clearly superior to those of other employees.

Poor jobs mean poor conditions

The Jackson Committee has commented on the quality of work life in manufacturing industry:

Working conditions in Australian factories range from good to archaic, unhealthy and unsafe. Migrants and women on whom some parts of manufacturing depend are disadvantaged and even exploited. Many workers are frustrated and dissatisfied with jobs that offer them little interest or sense of personal involvement. Many are unable to adjust easily to change.⁵⁶

The report comments that the workers:

. . . provide the effort and creativity to convert physical resources into products. They have an important stake in the firms for which they work. The continuity of their employment depends on the firm's ability to sell its products, to raise the necessary capital to finance operations and to compete with other firms. The importance an individual places on a particular job varies according to the ease with which he or she can find another offering comparable pay, security, working conditions, satisfaction and acceptable location.⁵⁷

In commenting on changing values, the reports says:

The decline of the work ethic is now an accepted thrust of change in the affluent society. The satisfactions derived from work in today's industrial environment attract fewer people. The human resource is unique, in that it is the only resource that cares how it is used. Affluent, better-educated workers are asking for work to have meaning in itself, and to have purpose to which they can subscribe. But there is no clearcut evidence that people do not want work at all. Rising educational standards and the demands discussed above are simply incompatible with a large pool of people willing to do dirty, unpleasant, monotonous work.⁵⁸

The creation of work selectivity

In 1972 the Brotherhood of St Laurence established a Family Centre Project which provided a guaranteed minimum income to a group of poor families. As part of the research of this project, the employment patterns of the adults were monitored to assess whether the scheme influenced their work patterns. The researchers Liffman and Salmon, have reported a decline in the work efforts of 21 men involved with the Project. They suggest that:

Many of the men have lost the capacity to work full-time. When a job became too frustrating, they stopped going to work. Unemployment seemed to have become habit forming and was an attractive alternative when the psychological rewards from working were limited.⁵⁹

They express the view that the Family Centre Project by providing the men "with a form of economic security and social support" enabled them "to reject unsatisfying work experience". The Centre by providing new career jobs as indigenous workers and a Support Work Program enabled the men to "become more selective about the types of work they were prepared to do".⁶⁰

What occurred, then, was that the men rejected some work and accepted other work. Given economic security and social support they selectively rejected unsatisfying jobs for more satisfying jobs.

Labour Turnover

There are individuals in the community whose frequency and duration of unemployment indicates an unstable work record.

Changing from one low-status, low-paying job to another is the typical pattern of some workers. When interviewed, Beverley was 19 years old. She lived with her invalid father. She received an unemployment benefit of \$43.50 a week. In two years, Beverley has had 12 jobs. In two she was declared redundant. She lost the other 10 jobs because she was said to be too slow or because she could not get on with the employers:

The bosses these days are terrible. They always say have you had any experience and you say no and then they say how many jobs you've had and you try and think how many jobs you've had and its just like saying goodbye job.

They're usually picky and choosy and they're always old, mean and grumpy and say if you're good we'll have you on. They pick and choose and say you're no good, no you never dress right and putting you in all different categories.⁶¹

The other side of the coin of selectivity of the unemployed, then, is the selectivity of the employed — the situation of employed people who either voluntarily leave jobs or are dismissed.

In a survey of 462 unemployed young persons aged under 21 years and registered for one month or more with the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations has provided us with significant data on the labour force experience of the sample. In other words, their experience as employees.⁶²

Of the school leavers:

74 percent of the males had held at least one full-time job.

26 percent of the males had worked part-time at least once since leaving school.

The average (mean) number of jobs held by males was 3.5.

Nearly two thirds of the females had held at least one full-time job and one fifth a part-time job.

The average (mean) number of jobs held by females was 2.0.

Of the non-school leavers:

65 percent had held more than one full-time job with a sizeable proportion having held four or more full-time jobs.

The average number of jobs held was 3.8.

Only 32 percent had stayed more than six months in their most recent job.

While most said they would have liked their most recent job to have lasted longer:

42 percent quit this job.

22 percent were sacked.

In 35 percent of cases the job "came to an end".⁶³

The authors comment:

The extent of quits and sackings and the reasons given, together with high job mobility and information suggesting a desire for job security, indicates the existence of problems with adjustment to the work situation. Reasons for quitting were concentrated around various dislikes of the work situation (including the job or its location, the boss or work mates). Sackings were most usually described as being related to poor work attendance or performance.⁶⁴

Voluntary unemployment

Possibly, the least tolerance is extended by the community towards those who voluntarily leave their jobs. Below is the story — in his own words — of one young person who left a job voluntarily and was, as a consequence, denied unemployment benefit for six weeks.

Physically incapable to do a job, being on the dole wasn't my idea but what can anyone do when there's no work but to go on the dole. \$87.00 a fortnight is not enough to live on after paying rent, at least thats how I felt about the situation; after you pay what you have to, to people and the things you have to have; whats left (nothing) but to wait for the next cheque to come through.

So after looking and waiting for jobs I finally told the CES that I could go for an interview at a Hospital Laundry.

Although I was fully qualified carpenter by trade this is what sort of work I was sent to.

Working in a hospital laundry which I had never done in my life.

When I was taking this interview the manager was asking me my life history which I was by now getting used to. He asked me if I took the job did I think I would stay, I told him I had never done anything in that line of work before but I told him that I would fill the position with the best of my capability if I was given the chance.

After the interview I was told he would contact me and let me know, later that afternoon I received a phone call saying I had got the job and that I would start at 7.30 the next morning. So I started work at 7.30 the next morning, my duties were to put wet clothes in dryers which were about 200 degrees so it was a very hot job I was not used to, so by 4 p.m. that afternoon I was almost exhausted.

Anyway I was determined to do my best and keep the job.

After a week I was so far behind in work and that stretched in two and from two to three no matter how hard I tried I was still behind and there were people on my back all the time.

So I did what I had to, I left and went back to the CES to let them know what had happened and to see if I could get another job only in my line of work although I knew what the answer would be: I'm sorry there's no jobs in your category so I had to put in for the dole knowing I was right back where I started.⁶⁵

Despite the circumstances, the explanation was not acceptable and benefit was denied for six weeks.

The pros and cons of labour mobility

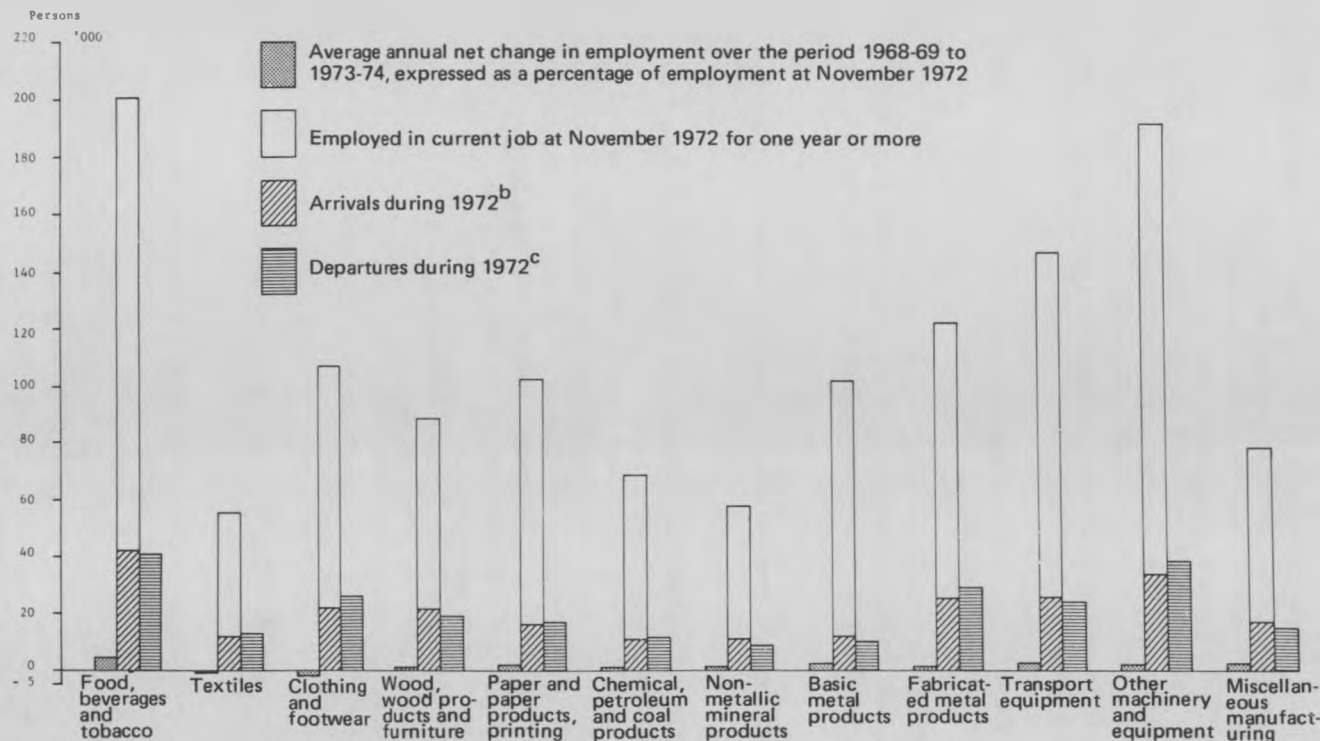
Labour turnover is a normal experience of the labour market. The Industries Assistance Commission has studied labour turnover between 1972 and 1975.⁶⁶

In commenting on these statistics, the Industries Assistance Commission says:

- (i) On the average approximately one in four persons held their current job for less than a year.
- (ii) Females change jobs more frequently than males.
- (iii) Most job movements are initiated by employees and only a small proportion of job changers experience unemployment.
- (iv) There is a large group, mostly women and young people, who participate in employment on an intermittent basis and who were regular job changers.
- (v) About one in eight of people continuously in the labour force (the stable core of the labour force) changed their jobs each year. Job changes by these people appeared to reflect a fairly even spread of mobility throughout the stable core of the labour force.⁶⁷

In addition, the Working Party on the Transition from Secondary Education to Employment reports:

- * job changing is extremely widespread among young people aged 15-19 years who have recently left secondary school: around one quarter (80,000) of all employed persons aged 15-19 years had changed jobs at least once during the previous twelve months;
- * young females are slightly less inclined to change jobs than young males;
- * frequent job changing is characteristic of a significant proportion of young people (specially young males) and is not confined to a



a Sub-divisions of the Australian Standard Industrial Classification (ASIC).

b Employed in current job in the industry for less than a year, and either had a previous job in the year in some other industry, or had no previous job in the year (that is, previously out of employment).

c Had a job in the industry during the year, and either currently employed in a job in some other industry, or currently out of employment.

SOURCE: Information contained in ABS, Manufacturing Establishments (various issues), and information on labour mobility provided by the ABS.

marginal group — in each survey, around 8 percent of all employed males in the 15-19 years age group had held three or more jobs in the previous twelve months;

- * persons under 20 had a job changing rate more than 50 percent higher than the rest of the work force.⁶⁸

Labour turnover is inevitable and desirable — employees are laid off and seek new jobs, workers leave the labour force because of injuries and disabilities or duties at home, young people leave school and look for work and others voluntarily leave their jobs.

While there are costs to particular firms and industries, there are strong economic arguments for labour turnover. The costs involved are basically the costs of finding, recruiting, and training replacement staff. The economic argument for labour turnover is to talk about labour mobility — the adaptability of the labour force and its willingness to change jobs and move from one industry to another. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that a young person's first job should be for life. Job changing could well be looked upon as a useful extension of work experience and self-development.⁶⁹

Policies that discourage labour mobility could be of short-term benefit but of long-term disservice.⁷⁰ Employers also recognise the need for the adoption of appropriate arrangements to facilitate mobility in the labour force⁷¹ and have criticised employees not willing "to change either his employer or his skills".⁷²

The conservative argument for labour turnover is that the market should regulate itself with minimal government interference. As a result,

The best way of easing change is, firstly, by some form of minimum income support, and, secondly, by encouraging mobility of labour and other factors to move into alternative lines of production with better prospects. The market does not offer lives of comfort from disturbance, but it makes the impact of unavoidable change gradual in contrast to the protectionist alternatives — from the guild system through syndicalism to communism — in which change eventually forces its way by commotion, convulsion and violence.⁷³

On the one hand, employees are criticised for leaving employers, and on the other, for not leaving.

Why?

Discrimination over labour turnover

In the first place, there is a discriminatory assumption and effect. People who are in jobs where there is a shortage of labour are in the privileged position of being able to pick and choose their employer. This applies to most of the professional and skilled workers. But, for the unskilled and

semi-skilled where there is an acute shortage of jobs, picking and choosing is a luxury with austere consequences. Also, most professional and skilled workers are able to change jobs with minimum inconvenience to their old and new employers, whereas most of the unskilled and semi-skilled virtually have to leave jobs to find and retain other jobs. The Industries Assistance Commission has suggested that the intermittent workers — those with the least job stability — seem to provide flexibility in the labour force and that it is possible that much of the burden of adjustment to change has been borne by this group.⁷⁴

Justifying selectivity, the Jackson report argues:

Beyond the basic need for a job, people hope for work which reasonably matches their capabilities and talents.⁷⁵

Shortage of Jobs

Discussions about the unemployed are in the end mischievous unless it is accepted that there is a shortage of jobs — that there are not enough jobs for a majority of the unemployed.

The overall statistics indicate this:

Unemployed, Australia, End June 1977⁷⁶

	<i>Unemployed</i>			<i>Vacancies</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total	217,642	115,151	332,793	12,492	6,637	19,129
Adults	154,272	51,593	205,865	10,695	4,637	15,332
Juniors	63,370	63,558	126,928	1,797	2,000	3,797

Matching the job to the person

These statistics, however, understate the seriousness of unemployment. Relating unemployed and vacancies by sex, age and occupation provides a better understanding of the actual job opportunities.

June 1977 (Australia)⁷⁷

Unemployed per Vacancy

<i>Adults</i>		<i>Juniors</i>	
Unskilled manual worker	68.4	Service	425.4
Semi-skilled	18.14	Unskilled manual	127.5
Skilled building and construction	14.8	Skilled, building and construction	109.51
Female clerical and administration	12.0	Semi-skilled	37.8
All occupational groups	13.4	Female clerical and administration	30.35
		All occupational groups	33.4

While there is an overall Australian figure of 17 unemployed chasing each vacancy, there are 68.4 unskilled manual adults chasing each unskilled manual adult vacancy. Thus the job opportunities for the unskilled are much worse than they are for the skilled. Individual unemployed need to be matched with individual vacancies.

Importance of public transport

A further consideration is in the geographical location of the unemployed and the jobs. In places like Frankston, Canberra and Doncaster there is virtually no public transport and this severely limits job seeking possibilities for the unemployed. The employment differs, then, according to local government areas and regions. Thus the unemployment rate is far more serious in Dandenong, St Kilda-Prahran, Frankston, the Western and North-Western suburbs than it is anywhere else in Melbourne.⁷⁸

The CES and the ABS

It might be argued that not all vacancies are registered with the CES. This is true — as shown by the following ABS survey.

Job Vacancies, Australia⁷⁹

	<i>March 1974</i>	<i>March 1975</i>	<i>March 1976</i>	<i>March 1977</i>
CES	85,348	32,915	22,190	23,468
ABS	165,200	55,200	50,800	49,500
Registered Unemployed	82,562	267,817	268,900	326,549

Several qualifications need to be placed on the ABS survey. The first is that many of the skilled and professional jobs for which most of the unemployed are unqualified and untrained are not registered with the CES and could appear in the ABS survey. The second is that the number of unemployed who do not register with the CES but are unemployed could easily counteract the additional vacancies recorded by the ABS but not registered with the CES. Finally, we do not know how many of the ABS vacancies are registered with the CES. Even assuming the unlikely situation that none of the ABS vacancies are registered with the CES there is still a shortage of jobs.

March 1977⁸⁰

<i>Number of unemployed</i>	<i>CES vacancies</i>	<i>CES + ABS vacancies</i>
326,549	23,468	72,968
Numbers of unemployed left if all vacancies filled —	303,081	253,581

The skilled and the unskilled⁸¹

In looking at the vacancy statistics in detail there is an immediate and obvious reason why vacancies either remain vacant or are vacant for long periods of time. A majority of the vacancies are for skilled people.

*Australia, June 1977*⁸¹

<i>CES vacancies</i>	<i>Skilled vacancies</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of all vacancies</i>
19,129	14,188	74

In contrast, a majority of the unemployed are unskilled.

*Australia, June 1977*⁸²

<i>CES registered unemployed</i>	<i>Skilled unemployed</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of all unemployed</i>
332,793	160,440	48

The CES survey of registered unfilled vacancies in October 1976, revealed that the occupational groups in which vacancies had been generally registered for a short time were unskilled manual (44.4 percent unfilled for no more than one week), rural (42.7 percent unfilled for no more than one week), and semi-skilled (37.2 percent unfilled for no more than one week). In contrast the hardest to fill jobs with above average proportions of vacancies unfilled for eight weeks or more were the professional and semi-professional (43.9 percent), skilled metal (29.1 percent) and other skilled (28.1 percent).⁸³ Thus the worst jobs are the easiest to fill and the best jobs are the hardest to fill.

In March 1977, under instructions from the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr Street, the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations surveyed all the job advertisements in *The Age* newspaper. The jobs were categorised by occupation with the following results.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Percentage</i> ⁸⁴
Professional and clerical/administrative	65.3
Skilled	19.0
Semi-skilled	7.1
Service	6.7
Unskilled	1.9

Newspaper job advertisements are for a specialised part of the labour market — the professional and skilled jobs.

Number of weeks from entry which the median and quartiles of a cohort of registrants could expect on entry to leave the register⁸⁵

Percentage of Registrants	1962-73	Average 1969-70	1962-63	1974-75
25	1-2	1-2	1-2	2-3
50	2-3	2-3	3-4	6-7
75	6-7	5-6	8-9	12-13

Decreasing vacancies

The following statistics clearly demonstrate the divergent trends in unemployed, and vacancy statistics between 1975 and 1977. While the number of unemployed has increased, the number of vacancies has decreased.

AUSTRALIA⁸⁶

UNEMPLOYMENT, VACANCIES AND OVERTIME

Figures in brackets represent percentage changes since the corresponding month of the previous year.

	1975				1976				1977
	Mar.	June	Sept.	Dec.	Mar.	June	Sept.	Dec.	Feb.
1. Unemployment (% change)	259965 (+228.0)	275289 (+212.1)	290012 (+103.5)	267399 (+23.1)	266902 (+2.7)	296863 (+7.8)	311318 (+7.3)	266314 (-0.4)	292774 (+14.3)
2. Vacancies (% change)	34992 (-60.7)	29275 (-59.3)	27509 (-36.4)	27147 (-27.2)	23269 (-35.5)	21949 (-25.0)	24903 (-9.5)	24593 (-9.4)	24337 (-7.5)
3. Newspaper Vacancies (% change)	16665 (-57.0)	21094 (-34.4)	21130 (3.5)	23385 (+35.1)	22814 (+36.9)	21138 (+0.2)	21959 (+3.9)	22715 (-2.9)	21703 (+4.9)
4. V/U Ratio (% change)	0.13 (-61.8)	0.11 (-57.7)	0.09 (-40.0)	0.10 (-28.5)	0.09 (-30.7)	0.07 (-36.4)	0.08 (-11.1)	0.09 (-10.0)	0.08 (-20.0)
5. Overtime Hours (% change)	2.1 (-44.7)	1.6 (-54.3)	1.8 (-41.9)	1.9 (-13.6)	2.4 (+14.3)	2.6 (+62.5)	2.5 (+38.9)	2.2 (+15.8)	2.3* (+4.5)

Definitions:

1. Registered Unemployed (including school leavers), seasonally adjusted.
2. Registered Vacancies, seasonally adjusted.
3. Weekly average number of employment advertisements during month, according to ANZ Bank Employment Advertisement Series, seasonally adjusted.
4. Registered Vacancies per person registered as unemployed.
5. Average overtime worked in major factories, seasonally adjusted.

*January figures.

SOURCE: Australian Department of Labor & Immigration, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*; ANZ Bank Employment Advertisement Series, *ANZ Bank Business Indicators*.

This table shows that the decline of vacancies is world-wide.

**JOB VACANCIES PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN 1975⁸⁷
FROM CORRESPONDING QUARTERS OF 1974**

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Australia	- 57.7	- 60.7	- 43.0	- 31.5
Austria	- 33.3	- 45.9	- 51.7	- 53.4
Belgium	- 65.0	- 75.6	- 74.8	- 53.1
Canada	- 43.7	- 36.7	- 43.4	n.a.
Denmark	- 85.1	- 72.5	- 36.8	n.a.
Finland	- 12.5	- 30.4	- 45.5	- 60.0
France	- 44.4	- 56.1	- 48.5	- 29.0
Germany	- 23.1	- 32.7	- 30.9	- 10.9
Japan	- 33.3	- 31.9	- 25.5	n.a.
Netherlands	- 21.7	- 27.8	- 43.1	- 29.0
Norway	- 30.7	- 40.8	- 45.9	- 37.6
Sweden	35.4	12.8	10.1	- 22.1
Switzerland	- 34.8	- 8.3	26.6	50.0
United Kingdom	n.a.	- 51.7	- 59.2	n.a.
United States	- 35.2	- 35.9	- 26.2	- 6.1

SOURCE: OECD, *Main Economic Indicators*, January 1976, and figures supplied by Swiss authorities. The figures refer to the stock of unfilled vacancies except in Japan and the USA. The Japanese figures refer to new vacancies and the US figures to "help wanted" advertising.

Unemployment or Unemployed?

What, then, is the extent of unemployment in Australia and how serious is it when compared with other countries?

At the end of June 1977 the number of unemployed registered with the Commonwealth Employment Service was 332,793 — 5.4 percent of the labour force. The number of job vacancies registered was 19,129.

According to these figures there is one vacancy for every 17 people registered as unemployed. Victoria had 77,613 unemployed chasing 6,816 jobs.⁸⁸

By country of birth

Within these broad statistics unemployment falls disproportionately on different groups and occupations. Unemployed persons by country of birth showed in August 1976 the following unemployment rates — born in Australia 4.3 percent, born in Greece 5 percent, born in Italy 3 percent, born in Yugoslavia 5.3 percent and born in UK and Ireland 4.7 percent.⁸⁹

There were 68.4 unskilled manual adults chasing each unskilled manual vacancy.⁹⁰

In March 1977, Australia with a 5.2 percent unemployment rate was higher than:

Sweden (1.7 percent)
Japan (2 percent)
Germany (3.3 percent)
Italy (4.1 percent) and
France (4.9 percent), and

lower than:

U.K. (6.8 percent)
U.S.A. (7.3 percent) and
Canada (8.1%)⁹¹

The following table shows how the long-term unemployed have increased as a proportion of the unemployed:

Australia, Unemployment Duration — Persons⁹²

<i>Year</i>	<i>13 to 26 weeks</i>	<i>26 weeks and over</i>	<i>Combined — 13 weeks and over</i>
1976	18.1%	21.6%	39.7%
1975	16.6%	17.1%	33.7%
1974	12.5%	12.6%	25.1%

By age and sex

The unemployed of 1977 are different from the unemployed of 1933. What follows is a comparison with the 1933 Census return and the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations monthly review for April 1977:

	<i>30 June 1933</i>	<i>April 1977</i>
Unemployed	389,442	323,189
Male	321,090	208,791
Female	68,352	114,398

In 1933, 82.44 percent of the unemployed were male. This had decreased to 64.41 percent in 1977. The percentage of women unemployed has increased from 17.55 percent in 1933 to 35.39 percent in 1977.

But the most dramatic increase had been unemployed people under the age of 21 — from 5.6 percent to 39.40 percent of the total.⁹³

These statistics provide an explanation as to the indifference of the community to unemployment. Two-thirds of the unemployed are youth and women and they are two of the least powerful groups in the community.

Political consequences

But, the price of indifference could be high — the emergence of an alienated generation who do not have secure positions in their societies.⁹⁴

In Italy gangs of students, daubed with war paint, have prowled through the city streets to protest their unemployment.⁹⁵

European governments are concerned about the political consequences of unemployment and inflation. These consequences include the increasing strength of the Communist Party in France and Italy, and the political malaise affecting Germany and Britain.⁹⁶ Frightened by the growth of socialism Europe's rich and not so rich are resorting to legal and illegal means to withdraw their funds — primarily to the USA.⁹⁷ A committee of scholars has warned that German universities were facing a grave challenge from the radical left which was winning converts among students who were disillusioned over what they considered the lack of opportunities in capitalist societies.⁹⁸

These comments help underline the twofold role of welfare services and income support schemes. Firstly, meeting genuine human need by establishing minimum levels of support. Secondly, averting social unrest and disorder — criminal and/or political.

In Australia the proportion of unemployed that are aged between 15 and 25 has been estimated at 55%. This is a higher proportion than all the OECD countries with the exception of Italy.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY AGE-GROUP⁹⁹

	Reference Period	Age-Group			Total
		15-24	25-54	55+	
Australia	1975 Q3	55	39	6	100
Canada	1975 average	49(a)	43	8	100
France (f)	1975 Q4	46(b)	49(d)	5(e)	100
Germany	1974 Q3	28(b)	60	12	100
Italy	1975 average	64	34	2	100
Japan	1975 Q3	23	59	18	100
Sweden	1975 average	37(c)	42	21	100
United Kingdom	1975 Q3	42(b)	42	17	100
United States	1975 average	46(c)	46	8	100

SOURCE: Quarterly supplement to OECD *Labour Force Statistics*.

Notes: (a) Age group 14-24. (d) Age group 25-59.
 (b) No lower age limit. (e) Age group 60+.
 (c) Age group 16-24. (f) Data refer to job applicants still registered at the end of the month.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX¹⁰⁰

(Percentages)

	Reference Quarter	Male Unemployment as Per cent of Male Labour Force	Female Unemployment as Per cent of Female Labour Force
Australia	1975 average	3.4	5.7
Canada	1975 average	7.3	6.4
Finland	1975 Q3	1.9	2.2
France	1974 average	1.9	2.9
Germany	1974 Q4	2.4	3.3
Italy	1975 average	2.8	4.6
Japan	1975 Q3	1.8	1.6
Norway	1975 average	1.9	3.1
Sweden	1975 average	1.3	2.0
United Kingdom	1975 Q2	(4.4)	(1.7)
United States	1975 average	7.6	9.3

SOURCE: OECD *Labour Force Statistics*, Quarterly Issue.

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN NINE COUNTRIES, ADJUSTED TO US
CONCEPTS, SEASONALLY ADJUSTED, 1970-6¹⁰¹**

	U.S.	Canada	Japan	France	Germany	Italy	Sweden	U.K.	* Aust.
1970	4.9	5.7	1.2	2.8	0.8	3.5	1.5	3.1	1.4
1971	5.9	6.2	1.3	3.0	0.8	3.5	2.6	3.9	1.6
1972	5.6	6.2	1.4	3.0	0.8	4.0	2.7	4.2	2.2
1973	4.9	5.6	1.3	2.9	0.8	3.8	2.5	3.2	1.9
1974	5.6	5.4	1.4	3.1	1.7	3.2	2.0	3.2	2.3
1975	8.5	6.9	1.9	4.3	3.8	3.7	1.6	4.7	4.6
1975 1st ¼	8.1	6.7	1.7	3.9	3.0	3.2	1.6	3.7	4.0
1975 2nd ¼	8.7	7.0	1.8	4.3	3.8	3.9	1.7	4.3	4.5
1975 3rd ¼	8.6	7.1	2.0	4.5	4.2	3.7	1.6	5.1	5.1
1975 4th ¼	8.5	7.1	2.2	4.7	4.0	3.9	1.7	5.7	4.7
1976 1st ¼	7.6	6.9	2.0	4.8	3.8	3.6	1.6	6.1	4.1
1976 2nd ¼	7.4	7.2	2.1	4.9	3.7	4.1	1.6	6.5	4.4
1976 3rd ¼	7.8	7.2	—	4.8	3.7	4.3	1.6	6.7	4.8
1976 July	7.8	7.3	2.1	4.8	3.7	4.3	1.6	7.0	—
1976 Aug.	7.9	7.2	—	4.9	3.7	—	1.5	6.5	—
1976 Sept.	7.8	7.3	—	4.8	3.7	—	1.6	6.6	—

* SOURCE: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

SOURCE: Bureau of Labour Statistics US Dept. of Labour, November 1976.

Jobs Without Workers

This book has attempted to raise some critical issues concerning jobs without workers.

Much public discussion on this issue is ill-informed and based on emotional rather than rational factors.

There is a crucial absence of relevant information which could be the basis of informed policy. At present, the Australian Bureau of Statistics conducts a quarterly labour force survey. Because it is quarterly and because of the time-lag in its publication its usefulness for the short-term policy formulation is limited. A monthly labour force survey would provide the most useful and comprehensive source of data on the underlying changes in the labour market as well as being a more reliable indicator of the level of unemployment.

The hard-to-fill vacancy

The hard-to-fill vacancy is in fact very rare and in most cases is for professional and skilled workers. Most employers who complain about their hard-to-fill vacancies are really complaining about their hard-to-retain employees (labour turnover) which compells them constantly to seek workers to fill vacancies. When pressed employers will admit to these circumstances.

The Job Centre's experience of interviewing a small sample of employers is that while lamenting their situation, the employers recognise that the unemployed have reasons for being selective — it is the work rather than the worker.

The manager of a large electrical firm sees "that employers are mostly to blame for these problems as they are not good managers". The personnel manager of a heating and air conditioning firm believes that "young people expect more satisfaction from a job and so are more selective than previously. This he felt was reasonable." The manager of light agriculture equipment believes "that employers need to make an effort to improve conditions". The personnel officer of a large retail store recognises the "unpleasantness of some jobs, e.g. dish washing". A manager of a manufacturing firm of office equipment "gave an example of the clerical staff where turnover is high because the work is boring".¹⁰²

On 21 March 1977 the *National Times* took a sample of 27 companies in Sydney and Melbourne which had advertised for junior and senior unskilled male workers. The survey concluded:

Yet any firm conclusions about why some of the companies surveyed had employment difficulties would require more detailed knowledge of the job, employers and employees concerned. While an attempt was made to select advertisements which were for similar

jobs, the exact nature of the work and of the employer are vital factors in deciding whether workers will remain with a company.¹⁰³

Both the Job Centre and the *National Times* have found that many employers understand their inability to fill job vacancies and they do not simply blame the unemployed for this, but understand that workers have reasons for leaving and refusing jobs.

The truth is that employers are caught in half-truths. There are unfilled vacancies and there is a labour turnover problem. But, it is too simplistic to conclude that workers are workshy and unstable. From this, what can be said is as follows:

- (1) While the question of particular unfilled vacancies is still an issue, the overall shortage of jobs is the primary issue. There are no jobs for a majority of the unemployed.
- (2) In most cases those few jobs that do exist are restricted to the qualified, the experienced and skilled whereas the majority of the unemployed are unqualified, inexperienced and unskilled.
- (3) There are some jobs which the unemployed could accept but which they refuse because they expect and have been conditioned to expect better salaries, conditions and status. This is a minority of jobs.
- (4) Attacking the unemployed as "bludgers" when unemployment is high could only be seen as an attempt to scapegoat the unemployed and divert attention from unemployment to the unemployed.

What can and should be done then?

The first thing is to focus on the work rather than the worker. The right answers require the right questions.

Debates about causes of unemployment confuse primary and secondary causes. Thus while the lack of basic skills of too many school leavers dissuades employers from employing them, there is a shortage of jobs. The lack of basic skills is a secondary cause. The shortage of jobs is a primary cause.

The CYSS and the SYETP

Admittedly, however, the difference between primary and secondary is confusing. Thus the Community Youth Support Scheme and the Special Youth Employment Training Program, have provided jobs for unemployed youth by persuasion and bribery of employers. If CYSS programs had not existed then neither would those jobs have and the unemployed people might still be looking for jobs. The CYSS's major achievements are to provide jobs for project officers, convince the community that youth unemployment is being faced and by placing a few unemployed in jobs,

prove that the cause of unemployment lies in the employability of the unemployed.

A Department of Employment and Industrial Relations sample survey of 146 trainees who had entered the Special Youth Employment Training Program in October 1976 concluded:

Most of the vacancies arose due mainly to staff turnover and business expansion and the majority of employers responded to the program as a result of newspaper advertisements.¹⁰⁴

Employers are being subsidised to fill vacancies that would have to be filled anyway and jobs are not being created.

To change the work or the worker

In recent years students, teachers and schools have explicitly or implicitly, wholly or partly, been blamed for unemployment. But, then, is it true that school leavers are not sufficiently oriented to the needs of the labour market? In part, the argument is this: There are jobs which school leavers could accept but are unwilling to do so.

Of this, the OECD has said:

We would also like to record our general view that orientation of school leavers to the needs of the labour market is not the only adaptation that is possible or desirable. Employers should be willing to examine their career structures in the light of changing educational patterns. For example, a hierarchical, managerial pattern that is appropriate where only a few per cent of the population have higher education may be less effective when the figure rises to 20 per cent or more.¹⁰⁵

While a somewhat modest and limited statement, it does pose the alternative possibility that it is the work rather than the worker.

Industrial jobs must be made more attractive because that is clearly what many workers want.¹⁰⁶

This is not the view of a pious reformer or a platitudinous politician, but an employer organisation: the Swedish Employer's Confederation.

There are many reasons for the view and they apply to Australia and to the inability of some employers to fill some jobs and the failure of the CES and the Job Centre to fill these jobs.

Why are Swedish employers committed to increasing job satisfaction and worker participation?

A major reason is difficulties of recruiting new employees in manufacturing and for many companies this has been the vital consideration in designing more attractive jobs.¹⁰⁷

Manufacturing industry in Australia has always had difficulties in recruiting employees. With the immigration program, however, these difficulties were eased by the willingness of migrants to accept the dirtiest, hardest and lowest-paying jobs.

In Europe, too, the dirtiest, hardest and lowest-paying jobs are filled by migrant labour who are called guest workers, and become unwelcome guests when there is increasing unemployment and are, therefore, expelled from the guest country.

In Australia, with a cut back in the immigration program, and despite high unemployment, some jobs in manufacturing remain vacant or suffer from a high labour turnover. Economic recovery could exacerbate this difficulty.

Despite the work test, workers are not so willing to be forced into accepting any jobs. The cumulative impact of progressive education, parental aspirations and the middle-class culture of television, radio and newspapers has degraded and downgraded manual work.

There is more acceptance of this among employers and the public in Sweden than in Australia.

Should dirty work be shared/compensated?

In Australia, the normal reaction to unemployed individuals and unfilled vacancies is to seek measures and penalties to persuade the worker to accept work. The Swedish are somewhat more sophisticated, are willing to change the work as well as the worker, and have developed an extensive and intensive range of programs for the unemployed.

It may, of course, be accepted that the cause lies in the work rather than the worker and yet argued that this is a conditional situation and, when there is a shortage of jobs, the unemployed should not be so selective. After all, selectivity is relative. The crunch issue is not so much being unemployed as receiving unemployment benefit and being selective. It must be admitted that many unemployed people are selective about jobs.

At the same time, however, if there is work that is unacceptable and cannot be carried out by mechanical means or cannot be changed into pleasant work, there is an obligation on all to share this work.

Instead of some people doing the dirty work all of the time, all people could do the dirty work some of the time.¹⁰⁸

In the meantime, why shouldn't the unemployed be selective?

Today many of those who do such work feel the contempt that others have for such work. The worst jobs are the worst paid.

The quality of work expectations has changed and less and less people are willing to accept the dirty work. Either the dirty work has to be eliminated, reorganised, or workers will have to be financially compensated for doing it.

The right to pleasant work in congenial surroundings

On this, the Jackson report recommends:

- (1) Everyone who wishes to work should have the opportunity to do so, and in a job which reasonably matches his or her capabilities and talents.
- (2) Formal and informal education and training systems should be developed for employees, union officials and managers at all levels, so that capabilities will be pitched to real needs, and will be appropriate to Australian values and goals. Managers and union officials need particular help in managing change and adapting organisations.
- (3) Employees should have the opportunity of being genuinely involved in the processes of reaching decisions that affect them. Policy should encourage improvement in the satisfaction and dignity of work, to suit the reasonable and changing expectations of a more educated workforce.
- (4) The physical work environment in factories should be consistent with the Australian standard of living. People who will work in them should be involved in the planning of new factories and extensions of old ones. The workforce in each factory should be involved in deciding measures to improve safety and occupational health.
- (5) Work is not performed in isolation from other facets of a person's life. These other facets will affect performances in the work environment. Policy initiatives should aim to improve those factors outside the work-place which impinge on the effectiveness and quality of worklife.¹⁰⁹

There are three key concepts in these recommendations. Firstly, there is an implicit recommendation of the right to work. Secondly, there is an implied recommendation of the right to congenial work. Finally, there is an explicit recommendation of the need to humanise the quality of work life.

Avoiding the 'employment' gap

There is a shrinkage in the total number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and there is a very real danger of virtually creating a new generation of "unemployables" who do not have the necessary skills and qualifications to make them employable.¹¹⁰

Gennrich has argued that the unemployment of young people entails social problems of a very specific kind and that "the first apparently temporary period of unemployment can influence one's entire future, warping the mind of a young person and his attitude towards society". While this is a victim-blaming perception, the first period of unemployment could

indeed affect one's future and attitudes. But, then, a "warped" mind is a logical coping response to a system that rejects and condemns the unskilled and semi-skilled.¹¹¹

What is needed, then, is "to develop practical training schemes of a broadly based and multi-skilled nature".¹¹² For the unskilled and semi-skilled unemployed to become employed and employable they need training for skilled jobs.

A group of European economists have criticised Government responses to unemployment and the unemployed:

The group therefore calls for reflection and analysis — especially at community level — on the following theme: Governments are willing to intervene as a last resort to maintain the income of persons without employment. They seem to show much less willingness to use these same sums to allow the same persons to have a job, or another useful activity, for example in education or training. A fairly low-cost effort would in fact be enough to change the character of the present essentially passive range of measures into measures of an active employment policy.¹¹³

They argue that persons deprived of employment should be offered a set of options:

- * A new job, similar to the former.
- * A new job acquired after a period of retraining.
- * Work in one of a range of public programs (including self-managing projects such as for example the Local Initiatives Programme in Canada).
- * Forms of training or education aimed at developing versatility and at raising personal capacities rather than acquiring a particular technique.
- * The traditional unemployment benefit.¹¹⁴

The affluent society has created affluent expectations. The promise of education has been a promise for better jobs. Rising expectations of the educated elite have permeated the community, and most people have come to expect good, well-paid, satisfying jobs. It is ironic when those who are in good, well-paid, and satisfying jobs expect others to be content with poor, low paid, unsatisfying jobs.

Growth, employment and working conditions need to "find ways to adapt" to "the characteristics of the work force".¹¹⁵

Some new options

One of the developing characteristics of the work force is disenchantment with existing work opportunities through either the public service or pri-

vate enterprise. An increasing minority of the unemployed and employed are searching for a third employment option: employment through community service. It has been proposed, for example, that funds could be provided by government or private voluntary agencies to enable co-operatives to provide particular types of service.¹¹⁶ An Australian Voluntary Service is being promoted as "a scheme wherein people of any age may spend a period of between six months and two years in undertaking work which they perceive as being of real value to themselves and to the Australian community".¹¹⁷ Under the scheme the work undertaken would range from conservation and park development work, community development, restoration of historic buildings, community education, fish farming, recreation and welfare programs, health (hospital) programs and small capital works.¹¹⁸

A Youth Alternative Employment Scheme has been advocated as providing a service to the community, helping the personal development of young people and providing satisfactory and adequately paid work.¹¹⁹

The British Youth Council has suggested that in the next five years manufacturing should be the major source of jobs for the unemployed because the growth possibilities in the services are quite limited. As it will be economically undesirable for the public service to expand at a fast enough rate to absorb the unemployed, the Council recommends the development of small, craft-based manufacturing enterprises and that public and private organisations should be encouraged to undertake labour intensive investment.¹²⁰

The Municipal Association of Victoria has suggested that municipalities in Victoria could provide jobs for 3,000 to 4,000 of the unemployed if a \$2 for \$1 subsidy was provided. The Association has also called for expansion of the Special Youth Employment Training program to include all age groups and the removal of qualifying periods of unemployment. The Association has also suggested the establishment of employment promotion committees on a local government area basis aimed at providing a local resource base for the Commonwealth Employment Service.¹²¹

In Victoria, a State Government Standing Committee on Youth Unemployment has prepared proposals that are specifically geared to poorly credentialled, poorly skilled workers who have failed to make an adequate school-work transition, the retrenched and redundant.¹²²

These job creation proposals need to be developed, but for what they are and not what they could be. They would help some of the unemployed rather than solve unemployment. But, this short-term achievement could have long-term consequences in helping the community to reappraise and redefine its assumptions about the meaning and significance of work.

The choice between people and work

Ultimately, however, there is a need to decide whether or not to focus on the unemployed or unemployment. While Australia suffers by comparison

with many Western nations in its labourpower policies, simply multiplying programs does not eliminate unemployment. The many schemes in the UK Incentive Training Grants, Direct Training/Rehabilitation, Work Experience, Job Creation, Job Release, Recruitment Subsidy for school leavers, Community Industry and Temporary Employment Subsidy¹²³ help a few of the unemployed. There is this comment by a Working Party appointed by the UK Manpower Services Commission:

Very many young people have been given opportunities they would never otherwise have had. These opportunities have been of a kind which have attracted and engaged young people and shown that they can help in a practical way those who have achieved little or nothing at school or in more traditional forms of provision. There can be little doubt that the schemes mounted so far have added significantly to the general stock of skills in the country. In the process, many reasons have been learned, so that the country as a whole is now altogether better placed than it was two years ago to know what can and cannot be achieved and how. Finally, programmes to date demonstrate clearly that there is plenty of scope for young people to do things of value to the community. For all these achievements, however there are limitations. Large though the numbers of opportunities may be, many young people who experienced one or more spells of unemployment in 1976 and who could have benefited from one of these schemes had no opportunity available to them.¹²⁴

In discussing the response of the industrialised market economy countries to youth unemployment, Melvyn argues:

Most of the measures taken so far have been of a short-term nature and their effectiveness has yet to be tested. The problem, however, is a long-term one and calls for new and imaginative approaches affecting the educational and training establishment as well as the labour market. This will require a determined joint effort on the part of governments, educational and employment authorities, employers, trade unions, voluntary bodies and the public at large.¹²⁵

This is a modest statement because it underestimates the political and economic conditions that predetermine education, training and labour market possibilities. Nonetheless, it is a minimum statement with which it should be possible to agree as a minimum.

Summary and Conclusion

In summary, then, this book argues that:

- * There is a paradox of some **unfilled vacancies** and **unemployed individuals**.
- * **Jobs and individuals constantly change** irrespective of the level of unemployment.
- * **Employer selectivity** is a factor in preventing some of the unemployed from obtaining jobs.
- * There are **unemployed people who choose to look for a particular job** rather than any job.
- * **Unemployment benefit does discourage some unemployed people** from seeking unsatisfactory work.
- * Another factor to be considered in discouraging people from wanting to work is the general questioning of our political, economic and cultural system and the specific questioning of what have been called **poor jobs does discourage people from wanting to work**.
- * Given economic security and social support **workers will reject unsatisfying jobs for more satisfying jobs**.
- * There are individuals in the community whose frequency and duration of unemployment indicates an **unstable work record**.
- * **Labour turnover is inevitable and desirable**, however, for it enables the economy and society to adjust to structural change.
- * Discussions about the unemployed are in the end mischievous unless it is accepted that there is a shortage of jobs — that **there are not enough jobs for a majority of the unemployed**.
- * Much **public discussion** on unemployment and the unemployed is ill-informed and **based on emotional rather than rational factors**.
- * There is a **focus on the work rather than the worker** — the shortage of jobs, the mismatching of work and workers and the problem of poor jobs.

A comprehensive labourpower policy could be a deception if all it does is to help a few of the unemployed, if it accepts the inevitability of high unemployment and if it merely allocates and reallocates the burden of unemployment by, for example, inducing employers to take on those unemployed who are subsidised under schemes such as the Special Youth Employment Training program. Helping some of the unemployed does not help all of the unemployed. Furthermore, if the objective of full employment is defined as placing people in any job, then, this is also a failure for it ignores the need for job satisfaction.

It should be possible to “simultaneously create jobs, conserve energy and natural resources, and protect the environment”.¹²⁶ To do so the

"economy must shift its emphasis from undifferentiated industrial growth and technological development toward more useful employment and labour intensive methods of production".¹²⁷ Gans argues that unemployment is a "permanent problem that will not go away, at least not until the economy is moved in a labour-intensive direction".¹²⁸

Instead of bemoaning that there are jobs without workers, the challenge should be to improve jobs. Government subsidy should be available where necessary to assist employers to improve working conditions in difficult, dirty, monotonous occupations as part of a program of job improvement. If jobs cannot be improved so that they are creative and meaningful for individual workers then they should be automated or abolished. But, automation should not be at the cost of satisfying jobs. Provided the products are really necessary and socially useful automation should be applied selectively to unattractive jobs and industries. While government subsidies to encourage investment should still be available, priority should be given to labour-intensive investment rather than capital-intensive investment, unless it is demonstrable that the jobs available are unattractive and hard-to-fill.

References

- 1 NAISMITH, Leonard C., Letter "Dealing with the 'dodge work' force" in *The Herald*, 24 March 1977, p. 32.
- 2 *Report of the Review of the Commonwealth Employment Service June 1977*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1977, pp. 6-7.
- 3 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977, pp. 32-7.

- 4 If under steady state conditions:

the stock of vacancies \equiv the number of new vacancies
 \times the average duration of a vacancy
 or the number of vacancies terminated
 \times the average duration of a vacancy.

have for CES

Unfilled Vacancies (U.V.) \equiv (Vacancies filled + lapsed)
 \times average duration (D)

$$D \equiv \frac{U.V.}{V.F. + V.L.}$$

and

$$D = \frac{U.V._t + U.V._{t-1}}{2(V.F._t + V.L._t)}$$

i.e. average duration = the stock of vacancies in month (t)
 \div the number of vacancies filled or
 lapsed in month (t)

Similarly for *applicants have:

$$D = \frac{A.A.P._t + A.A.P._{t-1}}{2(A.P._t + A.L._t)}$$

A.A.P. = Applicants awaiting placement.
 A.P. = Applicants placed.
 A.L. = Applicants lapsed.

*N.B. Not unemployed applicants, because we don't have placements and lapses for them. A.A.P. includes some part timers, and employed persons seeking improved positions. This should not affect the result unduly.

- 5 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *The Labour Force*, May 1977, May 1975, May 1973, and May 1972.
- 6 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Employment and Unemployment October 1976*, Reference No. 6.4, 3 February 1977; and Reference No. 6.38, 26 May 1977.

AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Labour Force Experience During 1976*, Reference No. 6.26. 28 July 1977, p. 26.
- 7 *Report of the Review of the Commonwealth Employment Service, June 1977*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977, pp. 7-8.
- 8 DICK, Alison, and WELLS, Bill, *Hard to Fill Vacancies*, Job Centre, 1977.
- 9 'New Swedish Industrial Relations Democracy Act' in *European Industrial Relations Review*, No. 31, July 1976, p. 2.

BOUVIN, Abe, 'New Swedish Legislation on Democracy at the Workplace' in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 115, No. 2, March-April 1977, pp. 131-43.
- 10 Interview David Griffiths with unemployed voluntary workers at the Job Centre, March 1977.
- 11 Interview David Griffiths with unemployed voluntary worker at the Job Centre, June 1977.
- 12 CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL SECRETARIAT, *Industry and Society, a Discussion Document*, April 1974, p. 3.

See also:

CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL SECRETARIAT, *The Social Policy of Industry*, October 1975, pp. 3-4.

The Central Industrial Secretariat was founded in 1972 by the Australian Council of Employers' Federations and the Associated Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia. The Secretariat assists in the formulation and implementation of policy on national and international industrial relations matters for these two major national employer organisations. In addition the Secretariat seeks, by publication of papers on matters of community concern in the industrial relations area, to promote informed discussion and understanding of such matters.

- 13 KENNETT, J.G., *Unemployment – One Man's Opinion*, Submission to the Federal and State Governments, June 1977, p. 11.

Subsequently, Kennett amended his original proposal in a letter dated 11 July 1977. In essence the amendment provides more details regarding the Australian National Employment Administration. In a letter published in *The Age*, however, Kennett said that "based on my definitions which are at the front of my submission, there are 92 per cent of genuinely concerned unemployed, not as your article inferred, 17 per cent (*The Age*, 11 July 1977, p. 8.)

Presumably there is a difference between genuine unemployed and genuinely concerned unemployed. The latter comprising the genuine unemployed (17 percent) and the selective unemployed (75 percent).

While it might be tempting to dismiss the views of Kennett as extremist, this view of Kennett is itself naive. After issuing the statement and subsequent to the extensive publicity, Kennett was appointed Chairman of a Victorian State Liberal Party backbench committee on unemployment. Extremist his views may be but not so extreme that they are publicly repudiated. Kennett's views are not as isolated as many would hope and they, in fact, represent at least a substantial minority position in the community.

- 14 *Ibid.* p. 55.

- 15 *Report of the Inquiry into Unemployment Benefit Policy and Administration, July 1977*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977, p. 71.

- 16 *Ibid.* p. 72.

- 17 *Ibid.* p. 13.

- 18 MUNTS, Raymond, and GARFINKEL, Irwin, *The Work Discentive Effects of Unemployment Insurance*, W.E. Upjohn, Institute for Employment Research, September 1974, p. 55.

- 19 *Ibid.* p. 55.

- 20 *Ibid.* p. 21.

- 21 *Ibid.* p. 58.

- 22 GARFINKEL, Irwin, and PLOTNICK, Robert, *How much does Unemployment Insurance increase the Unemployment Rate and Reduce Work, Earning and Efficiency*, Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Papers, University of Wisconsin, 378-76, 1976, p. 27.
 - 23 BREWER, Graeme, *Workers Without Jobs: a Study of a Group of Unemployed People*, Brotherhood of St Laurence, October 1975, p. 78.
 - 24 DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND, *Rural Poverty in Northern New South Wales*, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Canberra, 1974, p. 100.
 - 25 *Report of the Inquiry into Unemployment Benefit Policy and Administration, July 1977*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977, p. 69.
 - 26 *Ibid.* p. 70.
 - 27 Information prepared by the Brotherhood of St Laurence Research Officer, Graeme Brewer.
 - 28 "Jobless women 'don't sign' " in *The Sun*, 14 April 1977, p. 20.
 - 29 ACTU, *Survey of Young Workers*, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, AGPS, Canberra, 1975, p. 14.
 - 30 LANSBURY, Russell, and GUY, Barry, *Unemployment: an Opinion Probe*, Department of Administrative Studies, Faculty of Economics and Politics, Monash University, p. 4.
 - 31 *Ibid.* p. 9.
 - 32 *Ibid.* p. 10.
 - 33 WALKER, Tony, "Dole report rejects youthful bludging" in *The Age*, 27 September 1977, p. 11.

KELLY, Paul, "High youth unemployment in Australia may be here to stay" in *The National Times*, 3-8 October 1977, p. 9.
 - 34 *Report of the Inquiry into Unemployment Benefit Policy and Administration, July 1977*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977. pp. 8 and 13.
 - 35 *Ibid.* p. 14.
- 58

- 36 COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO POVERTY, *Poverty and Education in Australia*, Fifth main report, December 1976, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, p. 148.
- 37 *Ibid.* pp. 148-9, 155, and 157.
- 38 *Ibid.* pp. 154-5.
- 39 *Ibid.* p. 159.
- 40 *Ibid.* p. 159.
- 41 *Ibid.* p. 178.
- 42 BEHRENS, Neville, *Schooling and Work*, Education Department of Tasmania, Research Branch, November 1975, p. 4.
- 43 *Ibid.* p. 88.
- 44 *Ibid.* p. 177.
- 45 EMERY, Fred E., and PHILLIPS, Chris, *Living at Work*, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, p. 6.
- 46 *Ibid.* p. 55.
- 47 *Ibid.* p. 55.
- 48 *Ibid.* p. 55.
- 49 *Ibid.* p. 56.
- 50 *Ibid.* p. 71.
- 51 *Ibid.* p. 70.
- 52 ACTU, *Op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 53 *Ibid.* p. 11.
- 54 *Ibid.* p. 13.
- 55 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Weekly Earnings of Employees (Distribution) August 1976*, Reference No. 6.51, 15 April 1977, p. 22.

- 56 *Policies for Development of Manufacturing Industry*, Vol. 1 (Report), October 1975, p. 87.
- 57 *Ibid.* p. 81.
- 58 *Ibid.* p. 126.
- 59 LIFFMAN, Michael, and SALMON, Jan, *The Family Centre Project: A Third Overview*, Brotherhood of St Laurence, December 1976, pp. 148-9.
- 60 *Ibid.* p. 149.
- 61 *The Unemployment Program*, 3RMT – FM, Program 6.
- 62 GOLDSWORTHY, A., TAYLOR, B., and WEBER, C., "Special Survey of Unemployed Youth" in *Report of the Youth Unemployment Working Party*, Department of Labour and Industry, SA, May 1976, p. 1.
- 63 *Ibid.* p. 15.
- 64 *Ibid.* p. 15.
- 65 YOUTH ORGANISATION FOR THE UNEMPLOYED, *Submission to the Myers Inquiry*, 1977.
- 66 INDUSTRIES ASSISTANCE COMMISSION, *Structural Change in Australia*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977, p. 53.
- 67 *Ibid.* p. 50.
- 68 *Report of the Working Party on the Transition from Secondary Education to Employment*, June 1976, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, p. 34.
- 69 *Ibid.* p. 50.
- 70 INDUSTRIES ASSISTANCE COMMISSION, *Annual Report 1975-1976*, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, p. 129.
- 71 THE CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL SECRETARIAT, *Manpower Planning*, February 1974, p. 4.
- 72 THE CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL SECRETARIAT, *Industry and Society, a Discussion Document*, April 1974, p. 4.
- 60

- 73 HARRIS, Ralph, and SELDON, A., *Not from Benevolence . . . Twenty Years of Economic Dissent*, The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1977.
- 74 INDUSTRIES ASSISTANCE COMMISSION, *Structural Change in Australia*, AGPS, Canberra, 1977, p. 55.
- 75 *Policies for Development of Manufacturing Industry*, Vol. 1 (Report), October 1975, p. 192.
- 76 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977.
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 "Country Job Market Worst" in *The Age*, 20 May 1977, p. 3.

WHITLAM, E.G., "Western suburbs employment crisis" in *Commonwealth Record*, Vol. 2, No. 35, 5-11 September 1977, AGPS, 1977, pp. 1215-6.
- 79 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Job Vacancies*, March 1976, Reference No. 6.58, 17 September 1976.

The ABS survey includes vacancies for all categories of employees, including managerial, full-time, part-time, permanent, temporary and seasonal employees; and adults, juniors, trainees, apprentices, cadets etc. Private employers not subject to payroll tax are excluded from the survey.
- 80 *Ibid.* and

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977.
- 81 *Ibid.* pp. 6-7.
- 82 *Ibid.* pp. 6-7.
- 83 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977.

- 84 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Analysis of Newspaper Vacancies*, 3 March 1977.
- 85 KHOO, Edmond, *Estimates of Full-term Duration of Unemployment in Australia, 1962-1975*, Institute of Labour Studies Working Paper, No. 15, February 1976.
- 86 *Australian Bulletin of Labour*, The Flinders University Institute of Labour Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, April 1977, p. 3.
- 87 *Ministers of Labour and the Problems of Employment*, Vol. 1, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 115.
- 88 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977, p. 6.
- 89 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Migrants in the Labour Force 1972 to 1976*, Reference No. 6.67, 23 June 1977, p. 28.
- 90 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, June 1977, p. 7.
- 91 FREEMAN, Peter, "Unemployment: Its True Dimensions" in *The National Times*, 4-9 July 1977, pp. 43 and 45.
- 92 AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Labour Force Experience During 1974*, Reference No. 6.26, 12 April 1976, p. 25.
Labour Force Experience During 1975, Reference No. 6.26, 29 September 1976, p. 20.
Labour Force Experience During 1976, Reference No. 6.26, 28 July 1977, p. 21.
- 93 Figures based on comparison of 30 June 1933 *Census* and Department of Employment and Industrial Relations *Monthly Review of the Employment Situation*, April 1977.
- 94 LEWIS, Paul, "The Jobless Generation a Major Concern" in *The Australian Financial Review*, 9 May 1977, p. 10.
- 95 DALE, Reginald, "Rome's youth dons the war paint" in *The Australian Financial Review*, 6 April 1977, p. 1.

- 96 LEWIS, Paul, "OECD bids to curb unemployment in ailing Western World" in *The Australian Financial Review*, 22 June 1977, p. 19.
- 97 "Cash Floods Out of Frightened Europe" in *The Age*, 2 August 1977, p. 21.
- 98 "Experts Fear Jobless Revolt" in *The Herald*, 1 August 1977, p. 17.
- 99 *Ministers of Labour and the Problems of Employment*, *Op. cit.*, p.117.

ARKLEY, Lindsey, "Young Australians are hit hard by work famine" in *The Age*, Monday Job Market, 11 July 1977, p. 15.
- 100 *Ibid.* p. 116.
- 101 *Whatever Happened to Full Employment?* Australian Council of Social Service, Discussion paper, February 1977.
- 102 DICK, Alison, and WELLS, Bill, *Hard to Fill Vacancies*, Job Centre, 1977.
- 103 FREEMAN, Peter, and MILLIKEN, Robert, "With so much unemployment why can't I get staff?" in *The National Times*, No. 322, 4-9 April 1977, p. 24.
- 104 DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, *Special Youth Employment Training Programme Summary of June 1977 Report*, The survey was undertaken in May 1977, p. 1.
- 105 From Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development study review into transition from school to work in Australia.
- 106 Swedish Employers' Confederation, *Job Reform in Sweden*, 1975, p. 127.
- 107 *Ibid.* p. 15.
- 108 BEBEL, August, *Society of the Future*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. Abridged translation of the last part of *Women and Socialism* which was first published in 1879.
- 109 *Policies for Development of Manufacturing Industry*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 191-5.

- 110 REUBENS, Beatrice G., *Foreign and American Experience with the Youth Transition*, National Commission for Manpower Policy, February 1976, Discussion draft, pp. 22-3.
- 111 GENNRICH, Claus, *What is Sweden doing About Unemployment among the Young?* Current Sweden, Swedish Institute, No. 77, May 1975, p. 1.
- 112 *Outlook for Employment in the European Community to 1980* (A Report on the first phase of the Work of a Group of Independent Experts), Commission of the European Communities Directorate-General for Social Affairs, Brussels, July 1976, p. 31.

The Group of Independent Experts:

Burckhardt Lutz, Professor at the Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung e. V Munich.

Bernard Meriaux, Economist and engineer, Paris.

Santosh Mukherjee, University of Oxford.

Gosta Rehn, Professor at the Institutet for Social Forskning, Stockholm.

- 113 *Ibid.* p. 37.
- 114 *Ibid.* pp. 37-8.
- 115 *Ibid.* p. 57.
- 116 TYSON, G.D., *D.B. Enterprises*, February, 1976.
- 117 AUSTRALIAN FRONTIER INC., *Submission for the establishment of an Australian voluntary service scheme*, July 1977, p. 1.
- 118 *Ibid.* p. 3.
- 119 *Youth Alternative Employment: a job creation and community service proposal for unemployed youth*, Brotherhood of St Laurence, November 1975, p. 4.
- 120 *Report*, British Youth Council Working Party on Youth Unemployment, 1 March 1977, pp. 73-4 and 76.
- 121 *Submission*, to the Commonwealth Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, the Hon. A.A. Street, MP, about ways in

which Victorian local government might co-operate in assisting to reduce the level of unemployment, Municipal Association of Victoria, 20 July 1977.

- 122 STANDING COMMITTEE ON YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, *A Strategy for Development of new Education, Work and Training Opportunities*, suggested by the Standing Committee on Youth Unemployment, 1977.
- 123 MANPOWER SERVICES COMMISSION, *Young People and Work*, Report on the feasibility of a New Programme of Opportunities for Unemployed Young People, May 1977, pp. 25-8.
- 124 *Ibid.* p. 29.
- 125 MELVYN, P., 'Youth unemployment in industrialised market economy countries' in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 116, No. 1, July-August 1977, p. 38.
- 126 CENTRE FOR SCIENCE IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST, *99 ways to a simple Lifestyle*, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1977, p. 361.
- 127 *Ibid.* p. 361.
- 128 GANS, Herbert J., "Jobs and Services: Toward a Labor-Intensive Economy" in *Challenge*, July-August 1977, p. 41.



Other Reading

- ARKLEY, Lindsey, "Big differences in local unemployment figures" in *The Age*, Monday Job Market, 18 April 1977, p. 23.
- BEHREND, Hilde, and POCOCK, Stuart, "Absence and the individual: a six-year study on one organisation" in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 114, No. 3, November/December 1976, pp. 311-27.
- BLACK, H. Tyrone, SCOTT, Loren C., SMITH, Lewis H., and SIRMOM, William A., "On moving the poor: subsidizing relocation" in *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1975, pp. 63-77.
- BLAND, H.A., "Technological change: its impact on the work force and labour relations" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, March 1962, pp. 16-29.
- BURGESS, Paul L., and KINGSTON, Jerry L., "The impact of unemployment insurance benefits on re-employment success" in *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, pp. 25-31.
- CRAVEN, Peter, "Where there's much there's brass" in *Department of Employment Gazette*, Vol. 85, No. 2, February 1977, pp. 126-8.
- DELAMONTE, Yves, "Working conditions and government policy. Some western European approaches" in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 114, No. 2, February 1977, pp. 126-8.
- EHRENBERG, Ronald G., and OAXACA, Ronald L., "Do benefits cause unemployed people to hold out for better jobs" in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 99, March 1976, pp. 37-9.
- GAVIN, J., and SLOAN, Rt. W., "Technological changes in N.S.W. brick-works" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XX, No. 4, December 1964, pp. 40-5.
- GILROY, Curtis L., and McINTIRE, Robert J., "Job losers, leavers and entrants: a cyclical analysis" in *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1974, pp. 35-9.
- GUJARATI, D., "The behaviour of unemployment and unfilled vacancies: Great Britain, 1958-1971" in *The Economic Journal*, March 1972, Vol. 82, pp. 195-202.
- HALL, Robert E., "Turnover in the labor force" in *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, No. 3, 1972, pp. 709-64.
- HALL, Robert E., "Why is the unemployment rate so high at full employment?" in *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, No. 3, 1970, pp. 329-402.
- HALLIWELL, V.T.H., "Training in short cycle repetitive hand work" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, September 1963, pp. 32-9.
- HOLMES, J.B., "The supervisor — what training should he have?" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, December 1961, pp. 19-21.

- HOLT, N.F., "Availability of information about job leavers" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 3, September 1959, pp. 14-20.
- "Hours of Work" in *The Journal of Industry*, Vol. 44, No. 15, 23 August 197-?, p. 1.
- JONES, H.G., "Sweden's changing tides" in *Management Today*, London, June 1976, pp. 80-4.
- "Leukemia increase among rubber workers" in *The Labour Gazette*, Vol. 76, No. 9, p. 464.
- LLEWELLYN, David T., "The behaviour of unemployment and unfilled vacancies" in *Industrial Relations Journal*, Spring Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 30-42.
- MATTILA, J. Peter, "Job quitting and frictional unemployment" in *American Economic Review*, March 1974, pp. 235-9.
- Ministers of Labour and the Problems of Employment*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1976.
- MORAN, E.J., "The exit interview - an experimental study" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, September 1956, pp. 31-42.
- "New LIP program announced" in *The Labour Gazette*, Vol. 76, No. 12, December 1976, p. 636.
- "Notes on the Mechanisation of Sugar Cane Harvesting" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, September 1965, pp. 48-52.
- O'HARA, J.B., "Training in Australian Industry and Commerce" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 6, June 1957, pp. 6-13.
- "Productivity declining in low-wage jobs" in *The Labour Gazette*, Vol. 76, No. 9, September 1976, p. 463.
- PRODUCTIVITY PROMOTION COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA, *A job design Workshop*, 1975.
- The Productivity Audit*, 1974.
- Guide for supervisors: introducing a person to a new job.*
- Guide for supervisors: Minimising absence.*
- "Reducing Standard hours of work . . . not the answer to unemployment" in *The Journal of Industry*, 10 November 1975, Vol. 43, No. 18, p. 6.
- SLIFMAN, Lawrence, "Job mobility and labor demand" in *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 15, No. 2, May 1976, pp. 147-57.
- "The changed relationship between unemployment and vacancies" in *Department of Employment Gazette*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 19, October 1976, pp. 1093-9.
- "The difference between education and training" in *The Journal of Industry*, Vol. 45, No. 19, 18 October 1976, p. 1.
- "These jobs could be filled if people wanted to work: claim" in *The Age*, Monday Job Market, 25 April 1977, p. 19.
- "The unregistered unemployed in Great Britain" in *Department of Employment Gazette*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 12, December 1976, pp. 1331-6.

- "Time for training reform" in *The Journal of Industry*, Vol. 44, No. 22, 29 November 1976, p. 1.
- "To work, or not to work?" in *The Age*, Monday Job Market, 18 April 1977, p. 25.
- "Unemployment and notified vacancies — flow statistics" in *Department of Employment Gazette*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 9, September 1976, pp. 976-9.
- WALL, L.R., "Training operatives in a seasonal industry" in *Personnel Practice Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, June 1961, pp. 46-50.
- WALTERS, Kenneth, "Employee freedom of speech" in *Industrial Relations*, A journal of economy and society, Vol. 15, February 1976, pp. 26-43.
- "What's happened to the right to work?" in *Employer's Report*, Vol. 6, No. 25, 16 July 1976, p. 1.
- "Work experience essential for school leavers" in *Employer's Report*, Vol. 6, No. 41, 5 November 1976, pp. 1 and 4.

JOBS WITHOUT WORKERS — and unemployment grows worse monthly!
JOBS WITHOUT WORKERS — are we really a nation of dole bludgers?
JOBS WITHOUT WORKERS — have the long-term unemployed become
unemployable?

We read or look or listen to the employer's case, the trade union case, the Government case and sometimes even the man-in-the-street's case. So many different viewpoints each influenced by the individual's circumstances. In despair we often return to our own entrenched opinions influenced by our own position in society. And yet all Australians are agreed that we must unite to find a solution, that involuntary unemployment and poverty are the worst ills of our society.

This book examines the facts, faces rather than avoids issues, admits and discusses the paradox of unfilled vacancies and unemployed individuals. The statistics are well-known but the evidence is thought provoking. How many of us have even thought about the influence of the taken-for-granted affluent society, the comfortable homes and sufficient food, on the attitudes of school leavers or the post-war spell of regular secure work on the attitudes of blue collar workers. A person of the 70's does not become a person of the 30's just through unemployment. Solutions of the 30's will not solve the problems of the 70's.

To find our solutions we must understand our problems. **Jobs Without Workers** will help in this first step towards finding new ways of helping the unemployed.